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RECONSTRUCTION IN THE WEST GERMAN THEATRE
FROM THE "STUNDE NULL" TO THE CURRENCY REFORM

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Summary of Thesis

This account of reconstruction in the post-war German theatre analyzes the development of theatre in the Western Zones between 8 May 1945 and 20 June 1948. It establishes a number of previously unknown facts about the types and numbers of theatres which existed, which plays were premiered during the three seasons, as well as reconstructing and investigating the repertoires of twenty selected houses.

The findings allow received opinions to be challenged concerning the status of Berlin and other leading theatre centres in relation to provincial houses and the alleged absence of contemporary German drama. They also lead to revisions of data on repertoires, production dates, premieres and so on.

An assessment of the difficult and contradictory status of the German theatre at the time illustrates the tensions in cultural and national reconstruction within Germany, and the uniquely significant role played by theatre as a focus for re-establishing national and personal identity in the devastation following the Second World War.

The thesis was largely researched at theatres and archives in the Federal Republic of Germany and Berlin since no systematic attempt had previously been undertaken to analyze each of the aspects covered in relation to the three Western Zones individually and comparatively.

The three main divisions of the account deal with the context for reconstruction (the roles and ideas of the German theatres and critics and of the Allied authorities; the physical conditions determining reconstruction); a statistical overview of theatres, premieres and repertoires; an investigation of the roles and significance of foreign drama, the German classics, and modern German drama in relation to national and cultural redevelopment illustrated by production reconstructions of selected works (Anouilh: Antigone; Wilder: Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen; Ardrey: Leuchtfeuer; Goethe: Iphigenie auf Tauris; Lessing: Nathan der Weise; Borchert: Draußen vor der Tür; Weisenborn: Die Illegalen; Wolf: Professor Mamlock; Zuckmayer: Des Teufels General).

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Preface

This account of reconstruction in the post-war German theatre owes a great deal to a whole series of people and institutions without whose assistance and support I should not be able to present it for examination now. My first thanks go to the staff of the Theater-museum at the Universität Köln where much of the initial research was undertaken and who, despite severe financial limitations, allowed me access to essential material in the form of plays, programmes, newspaper reviews etc. I am also grateful to all the many libraries, archives, and publishers (collated in Appendix I to the bibliography) who enabled me to make use of documentation of a sometimes obscure nature. In this context a special word of thanks is due to Dr. Dieter Hadamczik at the Mykenae Verlag in Darmstadt both for the long-term loan of material and for his general encouragement.

For allowing me to interview them, and for their personal reminiscences on the period, I am indebted to Frau Ida Ehre, Hamburg, Herr Wilhelm Allgayer, Hamburg, Frau Maria Guttenbrunner-Zuckmayer, Saas-Fee, Herr Gottfried von Einem, Groß-Pertholz, Professor George Allen, London, Professor Michael Balfour, Burford, and Sir Hugh Greene, London. Furthermore, I have profited from conversations with various people especially in confirming sources and statistics. My thanks therefore to Sabine Hertwig and Heike Praetor, Berlin, Professor Dr. Henning Rischbieter, Berlin and Dr. Werner Schulze-Reimpell, Erfstadt.

To four people, above all, I am deeply grateful: to my supervisor Dr. Anthony Phelan, University of Warwick, who contrived, sometimes under the most difficult circumstances, to enable me to benefit from his

patient, thoughtful and disinterested criticism. I shall always be indebted to him for his help, encouragement, and genuine friendship. My parents, too, deserve my sincerest thanks for all their support, as does my husband without whose boundless encouragement and patience over the whole period I should not have managed to complete this study.

Finally, my thanks go to Mrs. Brenda Waller for her remarkable composure in typing my manuscript so carefully.

Technical terms

A number of technical terms are used in this survey which have not been translated either because the English does not render the German adequately or because a translation is misleading. Thus terms like "Intendant", "Schauspieldirektor", "Spielleiter", and "Dramaturg" which indicate both the precise activity and the rank within a German theatre hierarchy have been retained, and the phrase "theatre people" embraces this group collectively together with actors, directors, and theatre theorists.

Tables

Short tables are integrated into the text. Those covering more than one side are collected at the end of the chapter prior to the notes. The abbreviations UA, DEA and WA refer to world premieres, ("Uraufführung"), German premieres ("Deutsche Erstaufführung") and productions carried over from the previous season ("Wiederaufnahme").

A note on editions

Apart from classical works, the plays specifically considered within the framework of this account form Appendix II to the bibliography. References within the text to standard works are cited by act and scene; for the other plays, contemporary editions have been used and cited wherever possible. Throughout the text all plays are referred to by their German titles except where individual comparisons also require original titles to be cited. In cases in which a play has more than one title in German (e.g. La Guerre de Troie n'aura pas lieu which is variously called Der trojanische Krieg wird nicht stattfinden, Der trojanische Krieg findet nicht statt, Der trojanische Krieg fällt aus) the most common title is used except when reference is being made to a specific, differently titled production.

In order to avoid discrepancies between the text and quotations, place names and authors' names are given in German spelling and the characters in translated plays are also referred to by the German nomenclature. The only exceptions occur in the production analysis of "Successes from Abroad" in Chapter III where the original language is used.

The account of "Repertoire" in Chapter II is exceptionally long. This was made necessary by the character of the documentation and the fact that a survey of less than twenty theatres would not have been representative.

Lynda Lich-Knight,
University of Warwick,
October 1986

Introduction

The objectives of this account of reconstruction in the West German theatre immediately after the Second World War are two-fold. On the one hand I want to establish facts about the theatre, on the other to examine these facts in order to discover why the theatre was so significant at the time and why it played such an important role in relation to the problem of identity in post-war Germany.

The scope of the account defined itself: from the "Stunde Null," as the historical point at which Germany ceased to be a country at war but also a sovereign state, to the Currency Reform, as a determining factor in Germany's historical development immediately presaging the foundation of the Federal Republic. In relation to the theatre these dates form a framework around the first three post-war seasons, beginning any time after 8 May 1945 but ceasing at a stroke on 20 June 1948 when the Currency Reform decisively altered the economic situation and forced the theatres to close down and begin again in the 1948/49 season.

I concentrate on drama both because it is uniquely suited to gauging the ideological climate at the time and also because the inclusion of other types of theatre would have gone well beyond the scope of this account. Furthermore, I restrict the investigation to the Western Zones of Germany, excluding the Russian Zone altogether and only including Berlin where it is of particular relevance to the constellation in the Zones. The Russian Zone has already been discussed in some detail by Manfred Berger, Manfred Nössig and Fritz Rödel in Theater in der Zeitenwende. Zur Geschichte

des Dramas und des Schauspieltheaters in der DDR 1945-1968 while over the years Berlin has been the subject of any number of works by authors like Friedrich Luft, Herbert Jhering and so on.

By contrast, the Western Zones are poorly documented. Some studies have been undertaken of certain individual aspects also featuring here: American cultural policy is the subject, for example, of Hansjörg Gehring's Amerikanische Literaturpolitik in Deutschland 1945-1953 - Ein Aspekt des Reeducation Programms, and theatre policies in the American Zone are specifically considered by Wigand Lange in Theater in Deutschland nach 1945 - Zur Theaterpolitik der amerikanischen Besatzungsbehörden.

Richard Gilmore's unpublished thesis France's post-war cultural policies and activities in Germany 1945-1955 concentrates on this field, and a number of studies of specific German towns such as Hamburg, Marburg, and Tübingen have been undertaken, which mention the theatre as one amongst many aspects of reconstruction.

Chapter I of this study - "The Context for Reconstruction" - deals with the ideas associated with refounding the theatre in Germany by German theatre people and by each of the three Western occupying powers as well as the physical conditions under which these ideas were formulated and put into practice.

Chapter II - "Was spielten die Theater?" - presents newly-established facts since previously no systematic attempt had been made to discover how many and which types of theatres existed in the Western Zones, nor to determine which plays were premiered at which of these theatres during the first three post-war seasons. The chapter also analyzes twenty selected repertoires reconstructed for this account.

Chapter III - "Plays in Performance" - investigates three categories of drama which are of particular significance to the question of "identity", illustrated by production-reconstructions of specific works. With the exception of the work on production-reconstruction by Professor Henning Rischbieter in Theater heute relating to some of the plays featured here, the paucity of documentation and the importance of the material have been determining factors in the design of the account.

By establishing facts about the period I am able to challenge opinions which have led to what I refer to as myths. The greatest myths concern the status of Berlin as the leading theatre centre in Germany, idealized recollections of achievements at major houses, the concomitant assumption that the small provincial theatres were second rate, as well as the widely-held belief that German authors did not produce works clandestinely before 1945 nor publicly afterwards. It will also be seen that both contemporary and later sources contain incorrect or misleading information on repertoires, production dates, premieres, and so on which have gradually become accepted as definitive.

Finally, I pursue the question as to the status of the theatre in the Western Zones between 1945 and 1948: the reconstruction of theatre illustrates the difficult path towards cultural and national reconstruction and the search for a new German identity in the aftermath of cultural and national devastation.

C H A P T E R I

THE CONTEXT FOR RECONSTRUCTION

- "I want the theatre to be"
- "Die Stunde Null"
- The Occupying Powers

"I want the theatre to be ..."¹

In the programme notes to the Westminster Theatre production of his play The Dance of Death in 1935, W. H. Auden offered a statement of his understanding of theatre. His title serves to indicate the problem discussed at the beginning of this chapter as ten years later, in vastly different circumstances, a large number of German commentators were producing statements of a similar kind. Writers, critics, directors, dramaturgs and all those subsumed under the term "theatre people" were expressing their ideas and hopes for a new theatre in post-war Germany.

These theatre people represented a broad spectrum of ideological background and ambitions embracing declared left-wing critics on the one hand and those whose careers under National Socialism would prove to be politically incriminating on the other.² Despite this diversity, however, there were a number of aims common to nearly all critics. Karl H. Ruppel, "Schauspieldirektor" at the Württembergisches Staatstheater in Stuttgart, was a prolific contributor to early post-war pamphlets and journals. He managed perhaps better than any of his contemporaries to condense their basic beliefs in the following short passage:

Wahrheit ist auch in der Kunst und für die Kunst wieder zu einer Lebensbedingung geworden. Denn die Wahrheit allein, die Wahrheit, die heute nicht anders als bitter, schmerzlich und sogar beängstigend sein kann, ist es, die uns aus der erstickenden geistigen Verqualmung und Vernebelung des Denkens herauszuführen vermag, in der wir uns unter der Herrschaft der Irrlehrer herumtasten mußten. Um der Wahrheit willen muß das Theater wieder vom Menschen ausgehen und zum Menschen hinführen, wie er als Kreatur ist, nicht wie ihm als Produkt einer Staatszucht zu sein befohlen war.³

For the sake of truth: in the new situation a truthful theatre was seen as the only legitimate theatre. Whatever their politics during the previous

twelve years, the commentators of 1945 were very aware that in order to be credible, the new theatre had to seek its foundation in truth, independent of propaganda or ideological suggestion. This did not necessarily imply a rejection of theatre as a political form but certainly was a rejection of theatre in the service of the state.

Some insight into the post-war concern with truth in the theatre can be gained by considering briefly the era referred to most often by writers at this time. Almost without exception they turned to a period which combined a wealth of dramatic literature with ideals and values untainted by National Socialism: to the eighteenth century, to German classicism and above all to Schiller.

In June 1784 Schiller had presented his own understanding of theatre in a lecture to the "Kurpfälzische deutsche Gesellschaft" in Mannheim. This lecture, the subject of which was "Die Schaubühne als eine moralische Anstalt betrachtet", has probably been referred to more often than any other piece of writing on the theory of the German theatre before or since. It certainly inspired those writing in 1945. The reason for the particular popularity of the "moralische Anstalt" thesis is Schiller's belief in the theatre as the ultimate organ of truth. The stage is the place where 'alle Larven fallen, alle Schminke verfliegt und die Wahrheit unbestechlich wie Rhadamanthus Gericht hält'.⁴ Schiller believed that the revelation of truth in the theatre could influence habit and opinion: 'So gewiß sichtbare Darstellung mächtiger wirkt als toter Buchstab und kalte Erzählung, so gewiß wirkt die Schaubühne tiefer und dauernder als Moral und Gesetze'.⁵ The action on stage could awaken the indignation of the audience, offer them ideals to emulate, ridicule their weaknesses or elicit their understanding; through the audience the theatre could initiate and promote change:

Menschlichkeit und Duldung fangen an, der herrschende Geist unsrer Zeit zu werden; ihre Strahlen sind bis in die Gerichtssäle und noch weiter - in das Herz unsrer Fürsten gedrungen. Wieviel Anteil an diesem göttlichen Werk gehört unsern Bühnen? Sind sie es nicht, die den Menschen mit dem Menschen bekannt machten und das geheime Räderwerk aufdeckten, nach welchem er handelt?⁶

The commentators of 1945 hoped that their theatre might be just as influential as Schiller's. In a completely devastated country, newly released from the horrors of war into the uncertainties and deprivations of total subjugation to foreign powers, a country in which untruth and inhumanity had played central roles, their aims were also truth and humanity. In the words of Ulrich Seelmann-Eggebert: 'Es geht um die Wahrheit, um die klare unverhüllte Erkenntnis des Menschlichen'.⁷ "Wahrheit" and "Menschlichkeit": the latter especially emerged as one of the major concerns of the new theatre. The confrontation with human relations and human values should guide people towards true humanity.⁸ In the spiritual emptiness and chaos of 1945 nothing seemed more important. So what exactly did these theatre people intend by invoking Schiller's "moralische Anstalt" so frequently? Above all they wanted to emphasize the public role of the theatre and not allow themselves or their colleagues to forget the responsibility they bore. If you believe that the theatre should influence habit and opinion, should educate, then you should also remember the responsibilities of the educator. In a later chapter I shall examine the question of responsibility in relation to the selection of plays for performance.

There were those who objected to an understanding of the theatre which turned it into an educational institution; who rejected this interpretation of the theatre as a "moralische Anstalt" completely. Amongst those who put their ideas down in writing they were by far the smaller percentage.

Their aims were often similar to those already discussed; they, too, were concerned about truth and humanity but they also wished to entertain, and entertainment was (and still is) a poorly-rated factor in German theatre. Entertainment is not sufficiently serious.⁹ There was a view, which may well derive from Schiller's "moralische Anstalt" lecture, which confused effective theatre with serious theatre. Effective theatre may well be educational in the Schillerian sense but it does not necessarily have to be serious or "difficult" as the case of Brecht has shown.¹⁰ Similarly, serious or difficult theatre can also be entertaining. No-one proved this more convincingly than Ida Ehre. She was one of the most vociferous supporters of entertainment as the following quotation shows and yet it was she who made the Hamburger Kammerspiele into one of the leading theatres of the immediate post-war period, admired and praised by even the most rigorous of serious critics:¹¹

In der ganzen Debatte über das Theater, aber wollen wir eines nicht vergessen und das ist ein Satz, den Max Reinhardt einmal auf einer Probe einem Schauspieler zurief, der voller Verbissenheit und mit tierischem Ernst seine Rolle anging und sich dabei völlig verkrampfte: 'Vergessen Sie nie, daß Sie Theater spielen!' Gerade wir Deutschen pflügen das leicht zu vergessen und vor lauter ethischen Forderungen wird das Theater zunächst eine Anstalt; später vielleicht auch, nach Schillers Forderung, eine moralische; darüber aber vergessen wir das Spiel, das Lebenselement, die Lebensluft, in der der Künstler atmet.¹²

Ida Ehre rejected the "moralische Anstalt" but not all the standards of the eighteenth century. Together with the majority of those of her persuasion¹³ she turned to Goethe:

Halten wir es mit Goethe, dessen Theaterdirektor im Faust - man bedenke, im Faust! - fragt: 'Wie machen wir's, daß alles frisch und neu und mit Bedeutung auch gefällig sei?!'¹⁴

Even with Goethe as an ally, however, the apologists of a theatre including light entertainment were the weak voice in the intellectual debate, drowned by a majority which claimed:

Für ein Vergnügungs- und Unterhaltungstheater im landläufigen Sinne fehlen uns heute Muße und Mittel(...) Die deutschen Bühnen haben heute mehr denn je 'moralische Anstalten' zu sein.¹⁵

The clearest, if not the strongest voice in this debate belonged to those commentators who envisaged a very specific educational role for the theatre. These were especially the critics of the Left such as Falk Harnack, Fritz Erpenbeck and Herbert Jhering who hoped the theatre would contribute to weaning the nation from fascism and establishing democratic thinking in Germany. To this end the "Kulturbund zur demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands" was created in July 1945 by left-wing intellectuals active in all spheres of cultural life. They emphasized that the physical defeat of Hitler would not automatically lead to the disappearance of Nazi-ideology. At the founding meeting they proclaimed: 'Wir fordern die Erziehung unseres deutschen Volkes im Geist der Wahrheit, im Geist eines streitbaren Demokratismus'.¹⁶ The role of the theatre in this movement was to provide opportunities for people to learn to form their own opinions and to develop their critical faculties. As Herbert Jhering pointed out: 'Die Übernahme fertiger Ansichten hat oft genug in Deutschland zur geistigen und politischen Katastrophe geführt'.¹⁷ It was the duty of the new theatre to ensure that this did not happen again. Falk Harnack sought recognition for this idea not only from his colleagues but from the public in general. In his eyes anyone who did not approve of the theatre's contribution to the 'Aufräumungs- und Aufbauarbeit' was not merely superficial but a fascist; such a person refused to acknowledge the fact that the theatre was a "moralische Anstalt".¹⁸

Harnack collated his ideas on the duties of the theatre in post-war Germany in a pamphlet entitled Die Aufgaben des deutschen Theaters in der Gegenwart published in 1946. He was not the only commentator to produce such a pamphlet - in the same year, for example, Heinz Hilpert also published his ideas under the title Vom Sinn und Wesen des Theaters in unserer Zeit but Harnack's were the most concrete proposals for the reconstruction of the theatre in Germany. Taking as his basic precept a belief in the theatre as a responsible cultural institution with a duty to educate, he thought the choice of plays was the most important consideration and came to the conclusion that two main categories would provide all the components of a living, critical cultural body:

1. Die Klassik ist die Grundlage für jeden Spielplan.
2. Wir müssen mit allen Mitteln die zeitgemäße, lebendige Dramatik entwickeln.¹⁹

By emphasizing the classics Harnack, like so many of his contemporaries, was invoking the ideals of humanity, human value and social and intellectual freedom; on this basis he actually makes a personal selection of dramatists and, in some cases, of plays he considers most representative of these ideals. His repertoire would include: Lessing's Nathan der Weise, Lenz's Die Soldaten, Goethe's Götz von Berlichingen, Faust, Iphigenie auf Tauris, Schiller's Die Räuber, Kabale und Liebe, Don Carlos, Büchner's Dantons Tod, Woyzeck, Hebbel's Judith, Shakespeare and Molière. All these dramatists dealt with problems directly related to their own times and Harnack makes this a criterion for the development of his own repertoire. Apart from the aforementioned he would also like to see Goldoni, Beaumarchais's Figaros Hochzeit, the Sturm und Drang authors, Ibsen, Strindberg, Tolstoi, Gorki, Shaw, Hauptmann and Wedekind on the new German stage.

A selection of the above authors alone would not make a good repertoire. Harnack's second point is at least as important as the first: works which deal with problems directly related to the present are just as necessary to the re-building of the German theatre. Thus he recommends Brecht, Wolf, Weisenborn, Kaiser and any other modern dramatists whose main preoccupations are with humanity and social ethics. Indeed, he calls on German dramatists to come to grips with "aktuelles Theater"²⁰ and produce the modern-day equivalents of the classic plays cited. Finally, like Hilpert, he thought foreign drama should be performed in order to break down the barriers between Germany and the rest of the world. Whilst not enough is yet known about the drama of the Soviet Union, he recommends Ardrey's Leuchtfeuer, Anouilh's Antigone and Giraudoux's Der trojanische Krieg wird nicht stattfinden but is sceptical about authors like Thornton Wilder whom he considers pessimistic, prophesying the inevitable victory of the "Spießbürger".²¹

For the ideals represented by all these dramatists to be effective Harnack argued that the theatre must make a special effort to communicate with its audience and to attract those groups who were not traditionally regular theatre-goers: workers and young people. The latter group in particular was in need of the educative support of the theatre: 'In ihren Köpfen spukt falsch-verstandenes Heldentum, die Idee vom Herrenmenschen, sie kennen nur die Lehre von der brutalen Gewalt'.²² And he felt that this educational task would be aided by the formation of strong, well-balanced ensembles rather than the star-oriented theatre of former years.

Harnack's ideas provide for an essentially democratic form of theatre, highly principled, idealistic and rather serious. Throughout this study it will be interesting to observe the extent to which his thoughts were translated into reality since he touches on a number of key questions which

were not only the concern of the Left. He is acutely aware of the need to establish principles according to which a post-war repertoire might be constructed, if it was indeed to function as an educational institution, and he sees that the introduction of foreign plays alongside the classics would be necessary, together with topical plays, in order to achieve a renewal of the theatre in post-war Germany.

This final consideration is related to a dilemma facing all the commentators writing so soon after the war. Karl H. Ruppel pinpointed the problem when he posed the following revealing question:

Sollen sie (die deutschen Bühnen) ihre Tradition mit der Gegenwart verknüpfen, wo die Tradition mindestens zum Teil fragwürdig, die Gegenwart unübersichtlich geworden ist, oder sollen sie die Tradition radikal abbrechen und das Abenteuer allein mit Gegenwart wagen, wie ein Abenteuer mit dem Dschungel?²³

A number of critics selected the second path. They equated the physical destruction of the country with a demise of German culture and thus believed that a totally new beginning was possible.²⁴ Others doubted the feasibility of a genuinely new start. They argued that the material decimation of the country was not accompanied by the decimation of cultural continuity; only the externals of cultural life had been destroyed, the heritage, with all its negative and positive implications, remained. The latter was the more uncomfortable analysis as it meant carrying the burden of National Socialism over into the post-war situation but it was the one favoured by a mass of theatre people possibly because of the prevailing rigorous attitude towards truth. They in their turn sternly rebuked those few critics who argued for a linking-up with tradition as it had existed up to 1933. Apologising for what he considered the banality of his statement René Drommert pointed out that 'der Zeiger der Zeit sich nicht zurückstellen läßt und daß auch die dunklen und verborgenen Unterströme des vergangenen

Jahrzwölfts an der Bildung des Antlitzes unserer Zeit mitgewirkt haben'.²⁵

Drommert's is essentially a political argument. Unless theatre is understood as an entity divorced from society as a whole - and the educational role envisaged for the theatre by so many critics shows that they did not understand it in that sense - the forms adopted by it must be in touch with the times, even when those times have been touched by so undesirable an influence as National Socialism. There was, however, also an artistic parallel to this political argument which emphasized the impossibility of simply connecting with any one point in the past. Using the example of theatrical production in the Twenties Heinz Hilpert noted:

Die Theater- und Gestaltungscharaktere von damals
sind nicht mehr gültig. Wir haben ja inzwischen
Eiszeit und Sintflut in einem hinter uns gebracht.
Es hat - mit wenigen Ausnahmen - keinen Sinn auf
die damalige Produktion einfach zurückzugreifen.²⁶

It was not by chance that Hilpert chose the Twenties to illustrate his argument. In 1945 it was tempting to hark back to that period not only because it immediately preceded National Socialism but also because it immediately followed Germany's defeat in a World War. At first glance the similarities seem all too obvious but there were essential differences, especially in the political situation, which did not escape the majority of commentators. Whereas after the First World War there had been a movement for change within Germany leading to the revolution of 1919, in 1945 there was a total political vacuum. Now it was not a government which had surrendered but the whole of the German Reich, unconditionally. National Socialist ideology had been discredited and defeated but even for those political idealists with beliefs to replace it, the freedom to practise

those beliefs existed initially only in the private sphere. At the time the ideas on theatre outlined so far were being formulated, organization of any kind, social or political, was at best in its infancy. Germany was occupied and the Germans themselves only gradually became responsible for the functioning of their devastated country.

In what follows the physical destruction of Germany and its relevance for the theatre will be dealt with in more detail. This discussion should be seen in the light of the question: Why, at a time when merely staying alive from one day to the next was fraught with inconceivable difficulties, did so many people spend their time (and precious paper) writing and thinking about the theatre they wanted to found in Germany? Part of the answer has been outlined already: the understanding of the theatre as an educational institution but there are other factors which themselves throw up new questions. In order to progress to them it is necessary to consider the very beginning of the post-war era, the so-called "Stunde Null".

"Die Stunde Null"

The term "Stunde Null" is used to denote the period immediately following the surrender of the German Reich to the three allied powers on 8 May 1945. Total war had been superseded by total defeat and total surrender. The sense of catastrophe evoked by the "Stunde Null" was in consequence more absolute than anything anyone could have imagined. The controversial nature of the appellation "Stunde Null" should not go unmentioned. A number of critics - as should have become clear from the attitudes outlined in the first part of this chapter - did not believe that the end of the war and the Hitler-regime denoted a new beginning. Thus the idea of a "Stunde Null" could be misleading. Nevertheless, the term, which was coined at the time, is of use in the demarcation of the period.

When the Allies took over complete responsibility for running the country, Germany was indeed in chaos. One of the worst problems was housing. Statistics vary but at least five million of the 16 million dwellings existing before the war in the area covered by the four Zones of occupation¹ had been totally or partially destroyed.² Food and water were scarce, there was little fuel or lighting, posts and telecommunications ranged from unreliable to non-existent. Although transport systems had more or less broken down the populations of the devastated German towns and cities (see Map I) were swollen daily by streams of empty-handed refugees arriving from the areas to the east of the Oder-Neiße Line. The problem was compounded by the millions of former soldiers, for the most part prisoners of war, who gradually returned to the new Germany (see Map II)

during the next ten years. Many writers have described the scene but the following short passage from Stephen Spender's Rhineland Journey imparts not only a physical description but also a penetrating sense of the contemporary atmosphere:

.... it was in Cologne that I realized what total destruction meant. My first impression on passing through was of there being not a single house left. There are plenty of walls but these walls are a thin mask in front of the damp, hollow, stinking emptiness of gutted interiors. Whole streets with nothing but the walls left standing are worse than streets flattened. They are more sinister and oppressive ... The great city looks like a corpse and stinks like one also, with all the garbage which has not been cleared away, all the bodies still buried under heaps of stone and iron.³

In Köln more than 75% of pre-war buildings had been destroyed, including 70% dwellings and all the theatres. Altogether 98 theatres were lost:

TABLE I DESTRUCTION OF GERMAN THEATRES

Zone	Länder	Destroyed
American	Bayern, Württemberg-Baden, Hessen	22
British	Hamburg-Schleswig-Holstein-Bremen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein, Westfalen	34
French	Baden-Rheinpfalz (excluding Saarbrücken)	6
Russian	Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Pommern, Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt, Thüringen	21
	Berlin	15
GDBA, ed., <u>Deutsches Bühnen-Jahrbuch 1945-1948</u> (Berlin, 1948), p.72 (Statistische Übersicht).		

Officially the theatres had ceased performing during the last months of the war. Goebbels, "Reichsminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda", was made "Generalbevollmächtigter für den totalen Kriegseinsatz" on 24 August 1944. In this capacity he shut down all the theatres on 1 September of the same year as a further contribution to total mobilization. In fact this did not mean that the theatres ceased to function everywhere. Many actors and theatre people did have to work in factories of all kinds but, in a number of cases, the theatres themselves were turned into factories enabling the ensemble to make their contribution to the war effort and practise their chosen profession at the same time. In this way the theatres in Hamburg continued performing until Spring 1945. The Hamburg solution was particularly interesting because it was based on a clause in the closing-down order itself. One of the authors of the order at the "Reichstheaterkammer" had obviously realized that the war would not go on for ever and had added a clause guaranteeing the artists that 'ihre spätere Berufsfähigkeit nicht beeinträchtigt werden möge'.⁴ On the basis of this clause jobs at other factories could be turned down and rehearsals could go ahead while, in the foyer, operating aprons were sewn and bags of nuts packed-up for the soldiers at the Front. By the end of the war, however, six of the nine regular theatres which had existed in Hamburg in 1939 had been bombed, the last being the Thalia Theater which was hit during the night of 12-13 April 1945.⁵

The loss of the theatres both in Hamburg and elsewhere was a great setback but it did not deter those who really wanted to from producing plays or from going to see them. Just as a church is a dispensable element in religious worship, magnificent theatre buildings are not essential to the performing arts. Within six weeks of the end of the war theatre groups had been formed throughout Germany. In the first post-war edition of Alfred Dahlmann's Theater-Almanach, Fritz Peter Buch described the situation in Berlin:

Eine Millionenstadt, fast ohne Verkehrsmittel,
bedroht von Hunger und Seuchen, mitten im Kampf
um die nackte physische Existenz, brachte in jedem
dritten Häuserblock, in jedem Stübchen, das noch ein
Dach hatte, auf jedem Podium, vor dem ein paar
Reihen Stühle stehen konnten, etwas Theaterähnliches
hervor.⁶

This activity was not restricted to the cities. Hundreds of groups of wandering players performed in small towns and villages presenting everything from tragedy to farce. Opinion as to the quality of the groups differed and there certainly must have been some extremely poor productions. At the same time Professor Carl Nissen was able to note: 'Aus der Not machte man eine Tugend: die Improvisation feierte in den Behelfstheatern wahre Triumphe der Kunst'.⁷

Improvisation must have been one of the most frequent words to pass people's lips at this time, initially with reference to places to perform. No building that could be procured was unsuitable and some which today would be considered avant-garde proved their potential forty years ago. School halls, cinemas, youth centres and lecture halls were obvious choices. In Heidelberg a room in the castle was used, in Bonn a hall in the "Provinciale Heil- und Pflegeanstalt" and in Hamburg one of the first post-war performances by the ensemble of the Deutsches Schauspielhaus - Hofmannsthal's Jedermann - was given in a church.⁸ Buildings were not necessarily the greatest problem. Burnt-out theatres also meant burnt-out archives, libraries, stores of props and costumes. While props and costumes could be improvised or even imagined, the lack of texts was a serious hindrance. There are anecdotal accounts of the "memorial reconstruction" of plays of a kind unknown since the Elizabethan theatre but it was particularly in this field that, within weeks of the capitulation, the German theatre received considerable assistance from outside the country.

One of the major benefactors was the Schauspielhaus in Zürich. After Hitler had come to power, and increasingly so after 1938 when Oskar Wälterlin became director of the Schauspielhaus, Zürich had developed into the centre of German-speaking theatre outside the Reich. According to Wälterlin the character of the theatre between 1933 and 1938 was rather tendentiously anti-fascist, largely due to the presence of German emigrés - a development he understood but could not support. In a booklet published in 1947 he described how a change came about when the crisis in Czechoslovakia became acute:

Die Premiere einer Neueinstudierung von Goethes 'Götz von Berlichingen' gab das Signal. Als der Held die Frage stellte, was das letzte Wort sein solle, wenn in Verzweiflungskampf das Blut zur Neige gehe, als Georg antwortete 'es lebe die Freiheit', und Götz in stiller, gläubiger, in keiner Weise provozierender Art beschloß: 'und wenn die uns überlebt, können wir ruhig sterben', da brach auf offener Szene ein frenetischer Beifall los, der nicht enden wollte.⁹

The position pursued from this time until the end of the war Wälterlin called 'eine(r) aktive(n) und konstruktive(n) Neutralität'.¹⁰ The anti-fascist element was never eliminated but the tone and repertoire of the theatre defied propaganda.

Among the emigrés in Zürich was Wolfgang Langhoff. Before the end of May 1945 he organized a "Hilfsaktion für Deutschland" at the Schauspielhaus. The ensemble produced hand-written copies of plays by Wilder, Giraudoux, Friedrich Wolf and others which were sent to Germany together with printed texts. The situation in Zürich was exceptional but assistance of this kind was not, nor was it restricted to exiled Germans. Early in 1946 the English Shakespeare Society donated a lorry-load of props, material, clothing and costumes to the Parktheater der Stadt Bochum, the provisional home of the Deutsche Shakespeare Gesellschaft.¹¹

Nonetheless it would be misleading to over-emphasize the importance of such gifts for the situation as a whole. Only relatively few, above all the major state theatres, benefited in this way; most were dependent on self-help and to some extent, good luck and coincidence.

In the case of Gerhard Metzner self-help meant walking the length and breadth of München, where only the Kammerspiele had survived the bombings unscathed, until he discovered a building in which a stage could be erected: the "Gartensaal" of the Café Viktoria on the Maximiliansplatz.¹² It meant persuading the American theatre officer Major van Loon to grant him a licence to open a theatre¹³ and the Building Control Office ("Baupolizei") to allow him to build one. The latter was no mean feat considering the prevailing priorities for reconstruction which did not put theatres very near the top of the list. Good luck enabled Metzner to find two Italian bricklayers to do the job and coincidence brought him together with the actress Trude Hesterberg who would become the leading lady when the Gartensaal re-opened as the Kleine Komödie on 2 February 1946. For the opening performance, Max Christian Feiler's Kleopatra die Zweite, light bulbs had to be borrowed from the München Tramway Department.

As the proprietor of a new, private theatre Metzner experienced considerable difficulties in obtaining texts for performance. Kleopatra die Zweite had eventually been procured by the München publishers Kurt Desch. Although ostensibly in a comparable situation Ida Ehre was spared similar problems. She, too, opened a new, private theatre on 10 December 1945 in Hamburg.¹⁴ Unlike Metzner, who embarked on the project on his own initiative, Ida Ehre, at the time a member of the ensemble of the Deutsches Schauspielhaus, undertook the refounding of the Hamburger Kammerspiele at

the instigation of her colleagues. Good fortune and coincidence also contributed to her success. The British theatre officer in Hamburg, John Olden, was, like Ida Ehre herself, an Austrian Jew by birth. Both elected to be in Germany and felt a calling to perform those modern plays which had been banned under National Socialism.¹⁵ Not only did John Olden enable her to obtain scripts without difficulty, he also requisitioned the Savoy for her, a theatre which had been put at the disposal of the British army but was seldom used. Even in this special situation, however, the scope of the initial productions was determined by the same restrictions and deprivations as Metzner's *Kleine Komödie* and all the other houses which had already begun functioning in Germany.

During the same Winter of 1945/1946, in which the *Hamburger Kammerspiele* opened with Robert Ardrey's Leuchtfeuer, the actress Käthe Haack played her first post-war role in Curt Goetz's Ingeborg at the *Tribüne* in Berlin. In her memoirs she notes: 'Wir hatten keinen Vorhang, wir hatten kein Licht, wir spielten bei Kerzen. Unten saßen die Zuschauer in viele Decken eingewickelt'.¹⁶ In another autobiography, the actress Ursula Herking recalls having been granted a license to stage Ich liebe vier Frauen in Straubing. To get the production off the ground various talents were required. She notes:

Curd (Jürgens) saß unten an der Kasse. In einer Zigarrenkiste verstaute er das Eintrittsgeld. Wenn der letzte Zuschauer auf seinem Platz saß, raste er nach oben und verwandelte sich in meinen Mann(...) Ein etwas schwachsinniges Stück aber voller Situationskomik.¹⁷

Despite the cold and the primitive conditions performances everywhere were packed out. People were prepared to walk considerable distances to the makeshift theatres, across fields of rubble carrying blankets, fold-up chairs or stools. Admission charges usually comprised two equally important elements: the ticket and the briquette - a tablet of pressed coal which served to ensure a minimum of warmth for the actors backstage. Some groups of travelling players dispensed with tickets altogether: planks and nails were accepted instead of Reichsmarks.¹⁸ When the Hessisches Künstler-Theater went on tour in 1946 they charged their audience two potatoes per person which guaranteed the company's board if not their wages.¹⁹

A guaranteed supply of food was far more important than regular wages especially in the towns and cities where shortages of all food-stuffs were commonplace. Potatoes formed the major part of everyone's diet and, as the following example shows, provided a butt for irrepressible humour in the face of desperate privation:

Ehemann: 'Was gibt es heute zu essen?'
Frau: 'Kartoffeln!'
Ehemann: 'Und was dazu?'
Frau: 'Gabeln!' 20

In the immediate post-war years adults received ration-cards to the value of 900-1300 calories per day.²¹ United Nations' official figures state that 2550 are required to maintain health and the ability to work.²² Additional allowances were made for some types of heavy manual work but the performing arts were not included in these categories. The "Bühnengenossenschaft" commissioned the "Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut für Arbeitsphysiologie" in Dortmund to investigate the calorie-requirements of performers. The results, which were disclosed at the first delegate

conference of the "Deutscher Bühnenverein" on 16 April 1948, showed that even those playing minor roles would require more than 2400 calories; the majority of actors would need 3000 and those playing leading roles up to 4000 calories per day.²³ The shortfall in calories led to ill-health, reduced ability to concentrate and learn lines, and comparable disabilities. Theatre people who spent their days at rehearsals and their evenings at performances had to think up ways of boosting their calorie-intake. Many bought tickets for their own plays and gave them to the butcher or greengrocer free-of-charge in the hope of preferential treatment. Although salaries were not low by the standards of the times (an established actor generally earned between 350-550 RM per month net while the average worker brought home 150-200 RM) few goods were available at official prices and even 1000 RM did not purchase a great deal on the Black Market (see Table II).²⁴ Karl Lieffen, who was nineteen years old and had just started his acting career in Freiburg in 1945, recalls having earned 150 RM per month during his first year and 200 RM in 1946. On moving to Wiesbaden in 1947 his salary increased to 700 RM.²⁵

For most people black market dealings meant selling the family silver or grandfather's pocket watch in order to buy a couple of kilos of exorbitantly-priced sugar or butter. As the following accounts show there were those who managed to beat the system but they were a tiny minority. This account appeared in the Berlin newspaper Telegraf on 24 June 1947 and illustrates the possible ramifications of black market trading:

Einem hungrigen Freunde wurde ein Pfund Butter für 320 RM angeboten. Er nahm sie auf Kredit, weil er so viel Geld nicht hatte. Er wollte sie morgen bezahlen. Ein halbes Pfund bekam seine Frau. Mit dem Rest gingen wir 'kompensieren': In einem Tabakladen gab es für das halbe Pfund 50 Zigaretten. Zehn Stück behielten wir für uns. Mit dem Rest gingen wir in eine Kneipe. Wir rauchten eine Zigarette, und das Geschäft war perfekt: Für 40 Zigaretten erhielten wir eine Flasche Wein und eine Flasche Schnaps. Den Wein brachten wir nach Hause. Mit dem Schnaps fuhren wir auf das Land. Bald fand sich ein Bauer, der uns für den Schnaps zwei Pfund Butter eintauschte. Am nächsten Morgen brachte mein Freund dem ersten Butterlieferanten sein Pfund zurück, weil es zu teuer war. Unsere Kompensation hatte 11/2 Pfund Butter, eine Flasche Wein, zehn Zigaretten und das Vergnügen eines steuerfreien Gewerbes eingebracht.²⁶

In the extremely hard winter of 1946/1947 there were few who managed to glean any enjoyment from the daily struggle for food and warmth. The lack of these necessities took on catastrophic proportions especially in the cities where the average person's supply of marketable valuables had long been used up.

It is important to describe the physical situation during this period at such length in order to appreciate why people went to the theatre and the full extent of the difficulties they faced in doing so: and people did go to the theatre. During that heinous winter of 1946/1947 Carl Zuckmayer was able to note:

Immer und überall waren die ungeheizten Theater überfüllt von Menschen, die oft stundenlang hatten laufen müssen, um sie zu besuchen, von Menschen in härmlicher Kleidung und mit der gelblich-fahlen Hungerfarbe im Gesicht.²⁷

One reason for the rush to the theatres was certainly a form of escapism: a couple of hours' respite from the physical and spiritual misery which determined each day or a brief reminder that another reality - even normality - did still exist. Closely related to the urge to escape was the need for relaxation and amusement, whatever the critics might say

about the impropriety of this type of theatre in post-war Germany. Clearly, theatrical performances, whether fully-staged or presented as play-readings, were amongst the first forms of entertainment to be offered in Germany at all. In the early weeks of the Russian occupation of Berlin²⁸ the theatre even provided the only source of information and was the first acceptable forum for a public exchange of ideas. According to Friedrich Luft: 'Man wußte kaum, was in der Welt vorging. An Zeitungen war noch nicht zu denken; da wir keinen Strom hatten, hörten wie kein Radio(...) So drängte man zum Theater'.²⁹

In the immediate post-war months audiences were grateful for anything that was offered. They had been totally cut-off from all significant dramatic developments for more than a decade and, after such a period of isolation, curiosity was immense. This fact helps to explain the ready acceptance of whatever the theatre groups put on as well as the theatre-boom itself. Above all people wanted to see the plays which had been banned in Germany for nearly half a generation and those which had never been performed on a German stage: the plays of Brecht, Kaiser, Wedekind, Anouilh and Wilder to name but a few. Friedrich Luft described this element of curiosity as follows: 'Man wollte es loswerden. Der Eifer, nachzuholen, was man solange versäumt hatte, kam wie ein Fieber über die Menschen'.³⁰ It is notable that the majority of critics who attended theatrical performances during the first months after the war describe the audiences as responding very immediately to what they experienced. They arrived full of anticipation, determined to find something of relevance to themselves and seldom went away dissatisfied. In The Empty Space Peter Brook remembers experiencing some performances in Hamburg and Düsseldorf in 1946: '...in Germany that winter, as in London a few

years before the theatre was responding to a hunger'.³¹ He queries whether it was a hunger for a deeper reality or for buffers against the prevailing one. Almost certainly it was both. Buffers against reality presumably means escapism as initially described above for which a hunger undoubtedly existed. The other hunger, for a deeper reality, was, however, equally responsible for the inordinate interest in the theatre. Carl Zuckmayer also identified a yearning for a new cultural and spiritual identity in the audiences of 1946 and chose the same metaphor as Peter Brook to describe it. In his autobiography he wrote:

Auch war da etwas wie ein geistiger Heißhunger ausgebrochen, ein kaum stillbares Verlangen nach Klärung und Erkenntnis, ein Durst nach innerer Erneuerung, Auferstehung, eine chiliastische Hoffnung, die tiefer ging und weitere Kreise ergriffen hatte als nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg.³²

An ideology propagated by twelve years of systematic propaganda lay in ruins, destroyed from without by victors who proclaimed not only their physical but, above all, their moral victory.³³ Large sections of the population had watched the slow, painful demolition of the very foundation of their lives. They were disorientated and looked to the theatre for help in understanding their situation.

It may at first seem strange that people in any numbers should turn to the theatre in their time of need. As a phenomenon it is all the more interesting and explicable if considered in terms of a theory working in practice: the theory of the "moralische Anstalt", the theatre as an educational institution. In this case the demand for education came from those who wished to be educated. Young people in particular expressed

their belief in the educational role of the theatre, investing it with a responsibility which even Schiller might have found challenging.

In the following quotation from an article published in the Deutsche Rundschau in August 1946 the sentiments of one young German (claiming by the choice of the first person plural to speak on behalf of his generation) illustrate quite clearly how great their expectations were:

Wir jungen Deutschen verlangen von der Bühne das erste Erkennen und Sichtbarmachen eines neuen deutschen Wertes, der sich absetzt von den Erscheinungen der Diktatur. In der Politik ist vieles zu abstrakt, den Autoren fehlt das Papier, die Zeitungen haben einen zu geringen Umfang: es bleibt die Bühne, die zur Manifestation und fruchtbaren Auseinandersetzung am wirksamsten ist.³⁴

So the theatre should be escapist and it should entertain. It should inform and instruct and take the lead in rediscovering the cultural, spiritual and moral values of the nation: a multiplicity of aspirations and expectations ensuing from the chaos of the "Stunde Null". Before any attempt is made to assess whether the theatre managed to fulfil these diverse roles it is necessary to recall the political perspective.

The Occupying Powers

The theatre in Germany was not completely independent at this time. Like every other aspect of life it was subject to the rules and regulations of the governing powers, which meant to the differing rules and regulations of four governing powers - and their differing attitudes to the theatre. Total war, total defeat, and total surrender had brought about the total responsibility of the Allies for the fate of Germany and the German nation, relieving her of her sovereignty from one day to the next. On 5 June 1945 Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the United States produced the "Erklärung in Anbetracht der Niederlage Deutschlands" in which they took over the control of 'die Regierungsgewalt in Deutschland, einschließlich aller Befugnisse der deutschen Regierung, des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht und der Regierungen, Verwaltungen und Behörden der Länder, Städte und Gemeinden'.¹ This document was followed by the "Feststellung über die Besatzungszonen" of the same day which read:

Deutschland wird innerhalb seiner Grenzen, wie sie am 31. Dezember 1937 bestanden, für Besatzungszwecke in vier Zonen aufgeteilt, von denen eine jeder der vier Mächte(...) zugeteilt wird(...)Das Gebiet von Groß-Berlin wird von Truppen einer jeden der vier Mächte besetzt.²

The unity implicit in these measures was deceptive. The Soviet Union had not wanted to include France in the distribution of Zones and Sectors and only agreed when the Americans and British relinquished parts of the Zones allocated to them in the London Protocol. Furthermore, areas of Sachsen and Thüringen, occupied by the Americans at the cessation of hostilities, were handed over to the Soviet Union in return for the three Western Sectors of Berlin. For these reasons and many other wranglings, the Allied Control Council - the executive body in which each of the Allies was represented - did not meet the first time until 30 July, almost two months after it had officially assumed power.

The degree of disunity was considerable notwithstanding the attempt to 'preserve a front of quadrupartite government'³ from the beginning. But it was not surprising. The Allies had formed an anti-Hitler pact, not a coalition of compatible ideologies and, once the common enemy had been defeated, the differing beliefs became continuously more obvious. The breach was most serious between the Western powers on the one side and the Soviet Union on the other but the differences of opinion and approach between Britain, France and the United States should not be underestimated either. France, especially, was keen to make her Zone as French as possible and attempted a policy of isolation combined with an excessively high French presence. In 1946 there were eighteen French nationals in the Military Government for every 10 000 Germans in the French Zone compared with ten Britons in the British Zone and three Americans in the American Zone.⁴

The Military Governments comprised various sections, similar to Ministeries, with headquarters in Berlin and branches throughout their respective Zones. The theatre was subject to the Cultural Sections⁵ which were responsible, through their branches, for the distribution of licenses. Licenses were required both to re-open theatres and to authorize the production and performance of every individual play. They were only valid in the Zone of issue and for a restricted period, usually four weeks or less. Since licenses were always awarded to a person and never to a theatre or other organization it occasionally happened that only one of the necessary pre-requisites for a performance was available. As the Münchener Merkur noted in December 1945: 'Es gibt zur Zeit Leute, die ein Theater, aber keine Lizenz, und solche, die eine Lizenz, aber kein Theater haben'.⁶ That it was actually

possible to get a theatre going and a play up to performance standard under the prevailing conditions within a few weeks seems, in retrospect, quite remarkable. But it was done. In some cases the granting of a license could involve days and nights of negotiation: this happened when Willy Maertens applied to the British theatre officer in Hamburg to re-open the Thalia-Theater. A four-week license was eventually granted and he was able to open the temporary stage in Haus Schlankreye on 27 December 1945 with a production of Ferenc Molnár's Spiel im Schloß. Willy Maertens subsequently became the permanent "Intendant" of the Thalia-Theater.⁷

Such meticulousness, however, was not common in any of the Zones. Despite the example of Willy Maertens, the Vice President of the "Deutscher Bühnenverein", Dr. Hans Walther Sattler, levelled the following criticism at the British authorities in Hamburg: 'Leider erteilte die Besatzungsmacht im Anfang ziemlich wahllos Lizenzen'.⁸ In München, in the American Zone, anyone with certain qualifications - sufficient financial backing in the case of private ventures and a clean record in general - could be awarded a license on a first-come-first-served basis.⁹ The American authorities only required applicants for state and municipal theatre licenses to guarantee their artistic independence in respect of political affiliations. Apart from this, according to a rather frivolous but accurate report in the Münchener Merkur, the license when granted certified the holder as follows:

Wir haben dich geprüft und glauben daß du ein
anständiger und tüchtiger Künstler bist.
Und jetzt gehe hin und eröffne dein Theater ...
Wir wollen nur das eine nicht - daß du für die
Leute, von denen jetzt einige in Nürnberg die
Hauptrolle spielen, Propaganda machst oder dich
mit ihnen einläßt. Sonst stehen wir nämlich in
zwanzig Jahren wieder hier und müssen Lizenzen
vergeben. Sonst kannst du machen, was du
willst.¹⁰

Referring to the early distribution of licenses, the American Chief of Films, Theater and Music in Germany, Benno D. Frank reported:

'Unfortunately only a few competent personalities could be found'.¹¹

Frank's comment implies that some attempt was made to find competent personalities from which it must be inferred that, while it was his intention to select carefully, the practice at the issuing-offices was less fastidious. There were a number of reasons for this situation. Firstly, there had been a great loss of "personalities" amongst theatre people due to the relatively high percentage of Jews and Communists working in the German theatre in the Twenties. Secondly, until denazification could be completed certain obvious choices for responsible positions, such as Gustaf Gründgens, were blocked. Thirdly, the conditions of work and communications in Germany made the task of trying to find the right people extremely difficult for the authorities.

Another aspect of the problem was the quality of the theatre officers and their own attitudes towards the theatre. There is little doubt that with a few notable exceptions such as the München team of Captain, later Major Gerard van Loon and Sergeant Walter Behr, who were themselves both theatre people, the theatre officers originally appointed by the Americans and British were poorly qualified to make decisions on the theatre in general, let alone the German theatre. A crass example of plain ignorance is cited by Hans Daiber. It happened to Max Frisch: 'In Frankfurt trafen wir einen Amerikaner, einen Prachtkerl an Hilfsbereitschaft, der durch uns zum erstenmal von Eliot gehört hat; Theatre Officer'.¹² By contrast the Soviet officers

responsible for cultural matters were highly qualified academics. According to Friedrich Luft: 'Sie kannten sich in deutschen Geistesgut bewundernswert aus'.¹³ In Berlin even the commanding-officer, Major-General Bersarin, was interested in theatre and authorized theatrical performances as early as 28 April 1945, ten days before hostilities officially ceased. The first licensed performance, Franz and Paul Schönthan's Der Raub der Sabinerinnen, was given at the Renaissance Theatre on 27 May.¹⁴

Why were the officers appointed by the Americans and the British so inadequate by comparison with their Russian counterparts?

Mention has already been made of the way in which the German people turned to the theatre for help in trying to understand their situation; the idea of the theatre as a place of education and guidance. To the Americans and the British this was an alien concept. Even today the theatre is essentially a place of entertainment in these countries. The theatre of ideas plays a very small role in the theatre-repertoire as a whole. Thus initially, in Germany, the Americans and the British simply did not attach very much importance to the theatre, quite unlike the French who flooded their Zone with all manifestations of French culture, especially plays, less out of an indigenous understanding of the theatre as a "moralische Anstalt" than out of the conviction of its beneficial effects on the German nation. Some instances of the lack of importance attached to the theatre are easily explained for the resources available were very restricted and priorities had to be set. When the city of München, for example, allocated 65 000 RM to rebuilding the Städtische Bühnen in 1947, the American Stadtkommandant James H. Kelly wrote to Oberbürgermeister Scharnagl:

This is indeed a sad reflection on your political acumen. With so many of your schools needing repair and other more essential things required to keep your children's body and soul together you appropriate this money for theatres ... Schade!¹⁵

In the opinion of Friedrich Luft, the Russian attitude to the theatre was much closer to the German tradition which meant that they recognized the potential of the theatre much sooner than their Anglo-Saxon Allies. These attitudes explain both the priority accorded to the theatre by the Soviet army of occupation and the fact that the Western Allies were amazed and somewhat horrified to discover 'das Tändelspiel des Theaters',¹⁶ on their arrival in Berlin.

The key-word in Friedrich Luft's description is "Tändelspiel" which suggests something trifling, superfluous: frippery. Official documentation confirms that the theatre was considered purely in terms of entertainment, at least in the beginning. An American Military Government report stated:

During the first months of occupation (...) The important objective in the entertainment field was on opening the theaters quickly and presenting some sorts of distraction to keep German minds occupied.¹⁷

Only gradually was this opinion modified as it became clear that "some sorts of distraction" was not what the German theatre was all about. One section of a British report to the Permanent Secretary at the Control Office in London, written in May 1946, dealt with the problem of naming the control body for theatres and music in Germany. In suggesting a change of title both the authors of the report and of the subsequently quoted recommendations reveal a previously unknown sensitivity for the meaning of the theatre in Germany:

The word 'entertainment' as now used by the Control Commission (Entertainment Section, Entertainments Adviser) is perhaps rather misleading since it conveys (...) a false impression of the Germans' cultural life. 'Theatres and Music Control' would be much better ... We should get away from 'entertainment' as soon as possible.¹⁸

The nomenclature 'Entertainments' (sic) Control' is an unsatisfactory description of functions (...) recommend that the designation 'Drama and Music' be substituted ...¹⁹

A change of name, however, does not necessarily indicate a change of attitude. An unwillingness to offend, even cautious goodwill, are implicit in the British deliberations. Nonetheless, to borrow a phrase of Marshall McLuhan's: The name of a department is a numbing blow from which it never recovers.²⁰

The one section of army personnel with a genuine understanding of the situation were the German-born officers returning to the country in which they had lived and worked before going into exile. By contrast to the British who, for fear of personal recriminations, preferred where possible not to send officers of German/Austrian-Jewish descent to Germany,²¹ the Americans made it their policy to send naturalized civilians in uniform back to Germany in 1945. One of the most notable of this group in the cultural field was Benno D. Frank, formerly an actor and director in Mannheim and Wiesbaden, who served the Americans as Chief of the Film, Theater and Music Branch of Information Control Division (ICD) in Germany. His thorough knowledge of the educational role of the theatre in cultural life is expressed most clearly in a report submitted in March 1947:

Since centuries the German people has been trained to the theatre as a great educational institution comparable only with the significance of universities in the American way of life.²²

The gradual dissemination of these characteristics of the German theatre led to the realization of its potential to influence public opinion, from which two major conclusions were drawn: one was that its activity should be controlled very closely, the other was that it was an ideal vehicle for re-education.

One method of control has already been described, the licensing system. This system itself also allowed for a very comprehensive form of control: censorship. As each production of a play had to be licensed individually an undesirable play could easily be refused a license by the Military Governments. The most famous example of a play affected in this way was Carl Zuckmayer's Des Teufels General. The premiere took place in Zürich on 12 December 1946, directed by Heinz Hilpert. It was not produced in Germany until the beginning of November of the following year, at the Deutsches Schauspielhaus in Hamburg and not, as is usually claimed, by Hilpert in Frankfurt.²³ Hilpert had been chosen by Zuckmayer to direct the German premiere but Frankfurt was subject to the American control authorities and, as the Rheinischer Merkur noted on 3 May 1947:

Zuckmayers Schauspiel 'Des Teufels General' wurde in der amerikanisch besetzten Zone vorläufig verboten, weil die Verherrlichung eines deutschen Fliegergenerals dazu beitragen werde, die Säuberungsverfahren zu erschweren.²⁴

The British respected the Americans' ban and the play was not staged in the British Zone until it had been released for the American Zone. In the French Zone Des Teufels General was banned together with Wolfgang Borchert's Draußen vor der Tür in February 1948, even after it had already been passed by both the American and the British watchdogs.²⁵

In general the French authorities treated plays dealing with topical themes ("Zeitstücke") with extreme caution.

It was not unknown for plays to be banned once performances had already begun. Schiller's Der Parasit, a comedy based on a French text by Louis-Benoît Picard, was put on at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin in June 1945 but discontinued almost immediately on the orders of the Russian authorities. According to Hans Daiber they were displeased with the closing lines of the play which claim that the world is ruled by lies and that justice is only done on stage.²⁶ A British officer ordered the removal of Georg Kaiser's Oktobertag from the repertoire of the Wilmersdorfer Theater 'da es (...) gegen die guten, britischen Sitten verstoße und damit auch deutschen Augen und Ohren nicht dienlich sein könnte'.²⁷

Censorship was also imposed in the countries of origin. The Americans prohibited the release and distribution of plays to Germany through the Civil Affairs Division of the War Department. They were most stringent about drama by American playwrights falling into the following two categories:

- a. Plays which tend to contain an element of criticism of life in America, or deal with the major problems facing America.
- b. Plays, regardless of content, written by authors who are considered to be either communist or communist-sympathizers.²⁸

Enlightened American theatre officers eventually realized that such restrictions prevented much of the best serious American drama from being performed in their Zone,²⁹ while allowing the free-flow of innocuous second-rate works. Nor did this fact escape the German critics. In an article in the Deutsche Rundschau in February 1947 Wolfdietrich Schnurre, complaining about the doubtful quality of

much foreign drama currently available, stated:

Natürlich haben an dieser ungebändigten Springflut mittelmäßiger ausländischer Stücke nicht zuletzt die alliierten Zensurstellen und ihre verantwortlichen Theater-(fach?)leute schuld, die uns heute lieber fünf Dutzend 'garantiert harmlose' (sprich wertlose) Stücke herüberschicken, als auch nur ein einziges wirklich aufrüttelndes.³⁰

Due to the fact that censorship only obtained in the respective Zone of occupation it did occur that a play which had been carefully withheld from one Zone, was staged in another. Clifford Odets's Wach' auf und singe was performed at the Kammerspiele of the Deutsches Theater in the Soviet Sector of Berlin during the 1947-1948 season at a time when all Odets's plays were proscribed in the American Zone and Sector under category b. above. This play had, however, slipped through the American net in their own Zone once already when it was first performed in Germany under the title Die das Leben ehren at the Bremer Kammerspiele during the 1946-1947 season.³¹

The British also practised censorship at Main Headquarters but were far less concerned about the negative implications of self-criticism than the Americans; rather they used this form of control as a vehicle for promoting the works of British dramatists. All translation rights resided with the Military Governments. Thus the British Treasury authorized the translation of plays by authors such as J. B. Priestley and T. S. Eliot and purchased the German performing rights for a limited period.³² During this period these plays could be offered to potential German producers directly, avoiding some of the complications involved in the payment of royalties to foreign writers. The Reichsmark was not convertible and royalties from existing contracts were held by German banks on blocked accounts.

Royalties due to American authors - 10% of box-office takings - also went onto blocked accounts. The translation and performance rights of American plays could be obtained through the Dramatists Guild in New York.³³ Apart from this, the government arranged for translations to be undertaken specifically for distribution in Germany by a section of the Film, Theater and Music Branch of ICD. By 1948 forty-four plays had been translated and made available to German theatre directors (see Table III). In the preface to the publication in which these forty-four plays were introduced Benno D. Frank wrote:

Es ist zu wünschen, daß durch diese Theaterstücke dem Deutschen ein Bild des Menschen in Amerika vermittelt wird, daß sie ihm zeigen, wie der Amerikaner denkt, wie er handelt, wie er lebt. Es wäre ein Beitrag zum Verständnis - und zur Verständigung.³⁴

His remarks could be interpreted as a gentle hint that the Germans might well profit by the example of the American way of life. Taken as a whole it must be concluded that the main consideration determining the Americans' choice of plays - apart from the ones which were simply innocuous - was their value in the task of re-education.

Re-education was a concept high on the list of priorities of all the Allies, the main aim of which was to influence the German nation away from the beliefs and attitudes they had adopted under National Socialism. The Potsdam Agreement foresaw this being achieved above all through the education system itself: 'German education shall be so controlled as completely to eliminate Nazi and militarist doctrines and to make possible the successful development of democratic ideas'.³⁵ These aims, it might be recalled, are identical with the ones foreseen for the theatre by the left-wing theatre people

cited in "I want the theatre to be ...". The definition of "democratic ideas", however, was different in each of the Zones because democracy was practised differently by the occupying powers in their own countries. The British representative at the Educational Committee of the Allied Control Council, Sir Robert Birley, speaking of the work of the four-power committee noted: 'There we passed splendid resolutions about 'democratic' education which did not matter at all as we all had different ideas about what was meant by democracy'.³⁶ Apart from education proper, the cultural field was the main hunting-ground of the re-educationalists, working according to the directives of their national governments.

In Britain planning for re-education - a term used as seldom as possible by officials in Germany as it sounds even more offensive in German ("Umerziehung") than it does in English³⁷ had been carried on during the war by the Political Warfare Executive (PWE). However, the Controller of Broadcasting for Germany, Sir Hugh Greene, soon discovered that the theories discussed during the war in committee proved irrelevant in the situation existing there after the war.³⁸ Perhaps this was a good thing as, according to Prof. Michael Balfour, himself involved in the PWE planning of re-education: 'Nobody knew precisely what it was or what it meant'.³⁹ These facts help to explain the lack of serious policy guidance on re-educational matters. The British were lacking in resolve while respecting the nation they had occupied. At the highest levels of administration they were trying to appoint German civilians who had been persecuted by or in opposition to the Hitler-regime and, as Sir Robert Birley realized: 'For me to try to preach democracy to them would have been insulting'.⁴⁰

Lower down the hierarchy it led to considerable confusion, with British officials following whatever policy they considered to be suitable. Orders like 'Go and do what is best for Germany',⁴¹ had negative as well as positive consequences.

If a common denominator for British policy can be found, then it would be that the Germans should re-educate themselves with the cautious assistance and encouragement of the British. The basis for this self-re-education were to be the best German liberal traditions. In the theatre the Germans should be left to get on with it unless they specifically needed help or overstepped a generally accepted but undefined mark.

While the British were satisfied to let the Germans learn '... elementary good manners in thinking',⁴² the French, given the opportunity, would have integrated their Zone into France, or at least into an alpine union.⁴³ This being impossible, the Zone was swamped with French culture and kept as isolated as possible. Movement between the French Zone and the other Western Zones was difficult and, at a time when the Daily Mail and the New York Times had long been available in the British and American Zones, not a single French newspaper could be purchased in the French Zone.⁴⁴ In broadcasting, too, the emphasis was on propagating French culture as a means of re-education rather than rebuilding a German network on which re-education might be pursued according to German cultural values.⁴⁵ Sartre, Giraudoux, Anouilh as well as Molière and hosts of French comedies could be seen at theatres throughout the Zone, while the influence exerted by the French on the educational system can be witnessed even today by the centralized "Abitur" in the areas formerly occupied by France.

As in the British Zone there was a tendency to take decisions on the spot, the difference being that there was usually a wealth of explicit policy being issued from Paris. In this way a number of the strict isolationist policies were gradually modified by the officers in Baden-Baden, Koblenz, Freiburg, Tübingen and the smaller towns of the Zone. They realized that despite official views, not everything German was bad, nor everything French good. Youth exchanges which began as early as 1945 were one of the main achievements of such work.⁴⁶ Whether in Paris the French government was not really keen for Germany to adopt values which would inevitably lead to independence - a prospect the French viewed with more than a little disquiet - it is certain that of the Western powers, it was the Americans who went about re-education with truly missionary zeal.

The French believed that Germany would benefit from intensive exposure to French culture; the Americans believed that the world would benefit from Germany's exposure to the American way of life. Culture was simply one way of presenting that way of life. The Americans sent to Germany were carefully prepared for their role through film-series such as "Your job in Germany" which made it quite clear, that unless Germany could be re-educated to democratic values, Nazism would rise from the dust of the war just ended and soon the next one would be underway. In the conviction that the peace of Europe and the world depended on the re-education of the German nation many educational and cultural programmes were arranged. A letter from the Films and Theater Section of the Civil Affairs Division dated 3 June 1947 noted:

The CAD operates a program whereby American plays and operas are produced in Germany and Austria under control of the U.S. Army. This presentation of American culture is extremely important in the re-education of the occupied countries.⁴⁷

Once again this reference to the list of approved plays suggests a more all-embracing control than was actually enforced by officials in Germany. "Intendanten" were not required to include American plays in their repertoire, even in the American Zone. In effect, the availability of rights for the national plays of the respective occupying power and a tendency on the part of the "Intendanten" to try to ingratiate themselves with the representatives of these powers led to a preponderance of American plays in the American Zone, French plays in the French Zone and so on. Wolfdietrich Schnurre, whose criticism of the Allies for pushing poor-quality, harmless drama has already been quoted, completed his assessment thus: 'Aber das wäre noch nicht das Schlimmste. Das Schlimmste ist, daß die deutschen Theater diesen Wust unbesehen schlucken'.⁴⁸ In retrospect it is difficult to condemn the "Intendanten" for their behaviour. Undoubtedly they hoped to gain advantages for their theatres, which would allow easier access to the materials which were so scarce, and make everybody's life more straightforward. Nonetheless, they were prepared to accept works which, under different circumstances, would have been rejected, a feature which will be discussed in more detail at a later stage.

The most idealistic champions of re-education conceived of it as a way of persuading Germany that she was part of the "family of nations".⁴⁹ A British report of 4 May 1946 speaks of working out 'a disinterested form of re-education...on a long-term basis to mend the total German ignorance of European or World thought'.⁵⁰ That the Germans could be so unaware of what had gone on outside their country for so long surprised

the British, despite the obvious logic of the fact. Marginalia referring to the comment about 'total German ignorance' read: 'Incredible, but true'.⁵¹ The report itself continues: 'It is hard to convey to the people what intellectual liberty means'.⁵² In wishing to convey the meaning - and presumably the practice - of "intellectual liberty" the British were very sensitive about the thinness of the dividing line between unbiased re-education and propaganda, so much so that it sometimes proved difficult to make decisions in this field at all. In a note of 9 March 1946 from the Director of Public Relations (Control Commission for Germany) to the Permanent Secretary at the Control Office the suggestion was made that ca. six important German "Intendanten" should visit London accompanied by the Entertainments Adviser to Information Services Control, Ashley Dukes. While this proposal was supported at intermediate level, the Permanent Secretary temporized by mislaying the paper until such time as the proposal was no longer relevant.⁵³

It was the Russians who were most often accused of overstepping the dividing-line between re-education and propaganda, although for a short while cooperation between the Allies in the cultural field was exemplary. One famous debate concerned Konstantin Simonov's play Die russische Frage, directed by Falk Harnack at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin in 1947. The American authorities requested that it should not be performed and then protested officially when it was because they believed it imparted 'unzutreffende verzerrte Bilder der amerikanischen Presse'.⁵⁴ The Russians reacted by claiming that the play did not show America in a negative light, merely the Hearst-press. The standpoint taken at the time directly reflected one's political affiliations.

Conservative and liberal critics such as Friedrich Luft condemned the play⁵⁵ while left-wing commentators like Paul Rilla were enthusiastic.⁵⁶ Whether Die russische Frage really was the blatant propaganda the Americans claimed, it was bound to seem so in the Germany of 1947 when information about "the other America" - referred to in the play as existing alongside the America of Randolph Hearst - lacked a basic foundation in knowledge. In cases such as this the Americans were faced with the consequences of their own over-cautious policies on American plays in Germany. Had the awareness of American reality been greater, the impact of the play would have been much less considerable.

Whatever one thought about the play, the affair showed quite clearly that the exceptional cooperation that had existed in cultural matters at the beginning had broken down like a collapsed stile by 1947. It is a measure of the sometimes naive idealism of those responsible for the decision-making in the cultural field, however, that just two months before the incidents surrounding Die russische Frage, Major Dymshitz, the head of the Cultural Section of the Soviet Central Command, and Benno D. Frank were agreed that 'no political differences should split the Allied effort to re-orientate the German people through the media of art'.⁵⁷ In the same report Frank notes: 'In spite of all existing political differences between East and West it is felt that in the field of Theatre and Music complete understanding can be reached with the Russians'.⁵⁸

By 1947 there was another reason for the favour the Western Allies were gradually beginning to bestow on the theatre, quite unrelated to the re-education programme: a competitive spirit.

From the moment of their arrival in Berlin, the Russians had encouraged the revival of the German theatre, making it a priority in the devastated city. Artists were allowed privileges not enjoyed by other workers such as "Pajoks", food parcels which were delivered to the theatres.⁵⁹ During an official visit to Germany at the end of 1946 Zuckmayer, who had been sent by the American Ministry of War to write a report on the state of cultural institutions and make suggestions for improvement,⁶⁰ also noted the Russians' especial interest in the theatre:

.... die Russen hatten, in ihrem kindlichen Enthusiasmus für 'Kultura', als einzige Besatzungsmacht ein Klublokal für deutsche Künstler, Schauspieler, Schriftsteller eröffnet, die 'Möwe' (...) in dem die Mitglieder gegen geringes Entgelt Borschtsuppe und Würstchen, Bier, Wodka haben konnten.⁶¹

By contrast, Zuckmayer also recounted the details of a visit to his ailing friend Peter Suhrkamp and his wife Mirl. A juxtaposition of the two descriptions emphasizes how privileged the members of the "Möwe" really were:

Das einzige, was sie ihm auf einem Spirituskocher bereiten konnte, war eine dünne, aber heiße Kartoffelsuppe, kraft- und fettlos. Derartiges war damals, und noch zwei Jahre lang, die Hauptnahrung der meisten Deutschen.⁶²

The Americans and British, if not as spontaneously enthusiastic about the theatre as the Russians, nevertheless did not wish to appear philistine in view of the obvious desire for a revival of cultural life. If the Russians could hold receptions for artists at the "Möwe" (named after the play by Tschechow) the Americans, too, could celebrate the success of plays by their own dramatists. After the premiere of Thornton

Wilder's Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen at the Hebbel-Theater on 5 July 1946, Käthe Haack, who played Mrs. Antrobus, noted:

Und nach der Vorstellung war ein Empfang bei unserem amerikanischen Theateroffizier, in einer schönen Villa in Dahlem.

Was für ein Büfett! Was gab es jetzt alles zu essen! Was gab es zu trinken! Dinge, die wir lange schon nicht mehr kannten.⁶³

In their enthusiasm to promote their culture, the French also made special concessions where theatre people were concerned. At a rehearsal of Hellberg's Neuer Weg in Freiburg, for example, the French theatre officer de Bad recognized the actor Karl Lifka from a list of escaped prisoners of war and told him to report to camp. de Bad attended both the dress rehearsal and the premiere after which Karl Lifka, who had not reported to camp, recalls:

Er drückte mir die Hand, gab mir ein Permitté für den Aufenthalt in der französisch besetzten Zone Deutschlands und sagte zur mir: 'Ihre Aktenrolle habe ich verschwinden lassen, Herr Lifka. Sie werden nicht mehr gesucht. Herr Hellberg wird Ihnen einen neuen Namen geben. Einen Künstlernamen'. Salutierte, machte eine leichte Verneigung vor mir und ging.⁶⁴

Although the focus of competition was Berlin where all four Allies were represented in the Sectors of one city, it gradually became a feature of the Zones, too. Each of the four powers monitored the others' successes and the frequency of performance and it became the habit for high-ranking Military Government officers to attend the premieres both of plays from their own countries and those of their Allies. Not that they always understood them. The Russians, for example, had trouble with Thornton Wilder. In Berlin they banned Unsere kleine Stadt after just a few performances at the Deutsches Theater because it was too sad for the Berlin public. (There are those who claim the Russians were getting

their own back for the relative lack of enthusiasm expressed for the theatre of socialist realism in the West compared with the considerable interest aroused by Western drama in the East.⁶⁵) In Hamburg, at the premiere of Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen in the Kammerspiele, Professor Michael Balfour remembers the Russians being really shocked at the play.⁶⁶ Although Russian works of socialist realism found little understanding on the part of the Americans, British or French representatives, they did go to see them nevertheless. In some cases cultural rivalry directly reflected the attitudes of the old world towards the new and revealed undeniable feelings of cultural superiority. The French theatre officer, Felix Lusset, discussing what he considered to be the inadequacy of German performances of French plays in 1947, remarked:

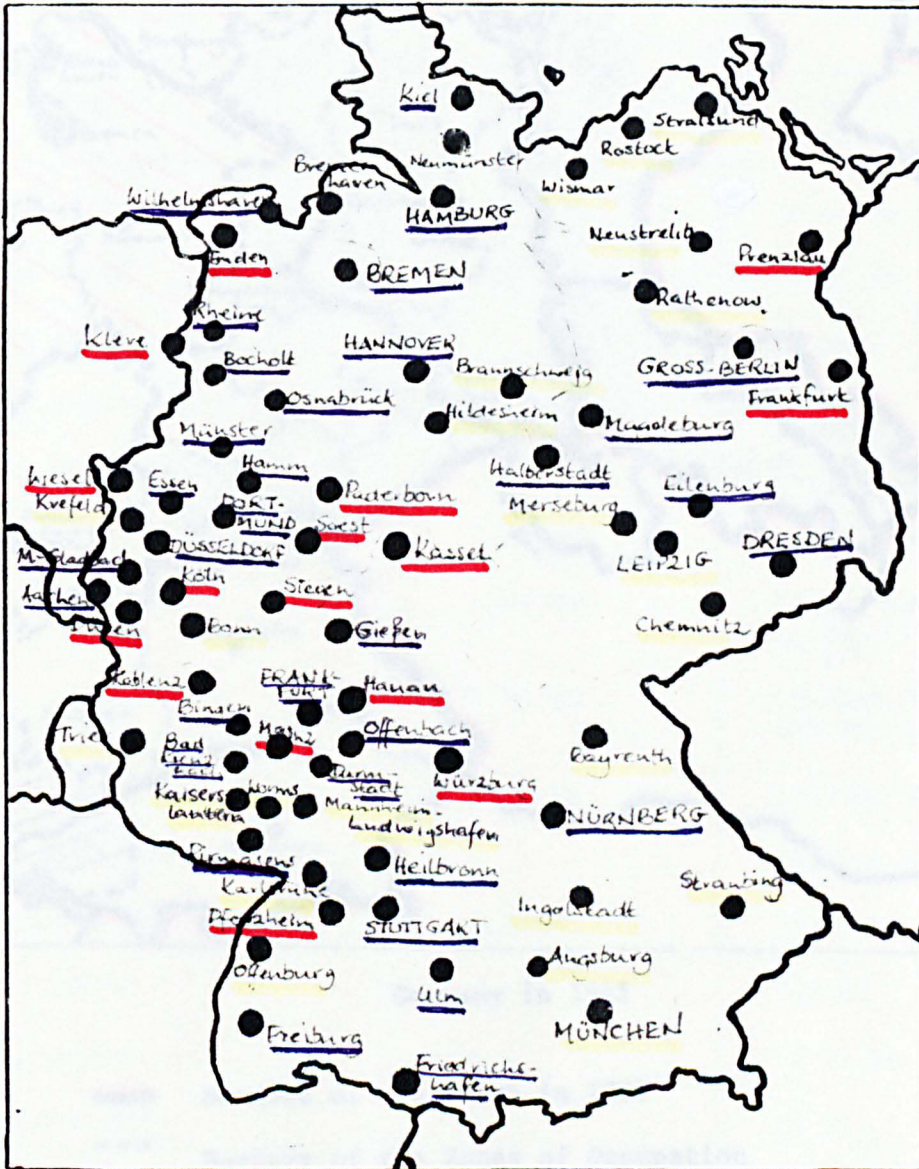
Eine annehmbare Theatergruppe unter Leitung eines Regisseurs von durchschnittlichem Talent kann in recht befriedigender Weise mit einem packenden Stück voll starker Kontrastwirkungen und greller Farben wie Thornton Wilders "Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen" fertig werden. Mit Anouilh, Salacrou und besonders mit Giraudoux wird es schon ganz anders sein.⁶⁷

By 1947 competition had developed alarmingly. Observing more activity by the Americans, French, and Russians than the British, a concerned officer at the Information Services Control Branch in Bünde wrote to the Divisional Control Office insisting 'we must do all that is possible immediately not to be left behind'.⁶⁸ The British were indeed in danger of bringing up the rear in the culture race. They joined in when there was a chance of gaining prestige as in 1946 when they lowered entertainment tax in the Zone because it was thought 'The loss of revenue will be considerable but the gain of prestige to the occupying Power is likely in consequence to be high'.⁶⁹ Strictly, however, pragmatics went before histrionics: when more workers were needed for practical tasks in Hagen in May 1945 all cultural institutions were shut down. The German civic

authorities managed to avoid disbanding the ensemble and orchestra altogether by finding a loop-hole which enabled them nominally to integrate the company in their own ranks until the British lifted the order in September.⁷⁰

Four occupying powers: four different attitudes towards the theatre in Germany. The Russians gave the theatre first priority; the French immediately introduced their national dramatists into their Zone. The Americans did their utmost to re-educate in line with the American way of life and the British did what was absolutely necessary and, more or less, let the Germans get on with it. The Russians would certainly have been shocked had they known that the opera in Köln was only re-opened because an officer who happened to like music at the British-controlled labour exchange created fictitious jobs for the orchestra so that they could draw ration cards and eat as well as practise.⁷¹ The development of the theatre in the Russian Zone has been described in detail elsewhere.⁷² In the following chapters consideration will be given to the paths taken by the theatres in the Western Zones.

MAP I



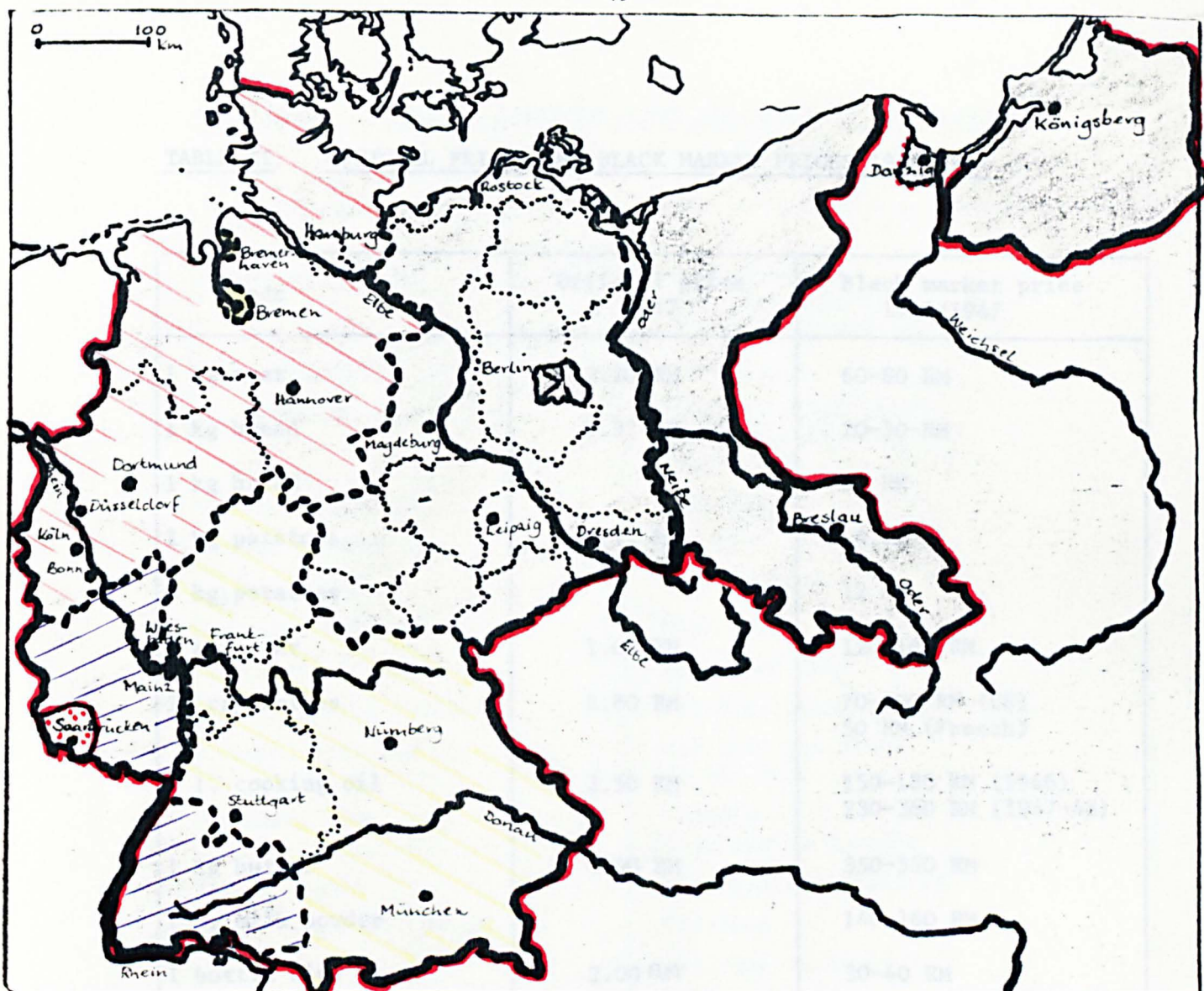
DESTRUCTION OF GERMAN TOWNS AND CITIES

more than 25%

more than 50%

more than 75%

Source: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., Die Entstehung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Bonn, 1974), p.10.



Germany in 1945

- Borders of the Reich in 1937
- Borders of the Zones of Occupation
- American Zone
- British Zone
- French Zone
- Russian Zone

Source: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., Die Entstehung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Bonn, 1974), p.4.

TABLE II OFFICIAL PRICES AND BLACK MARKET PRICES 1946/1947

Goods	Official price 1947	Black market price 1946/1947
1 kg meat	2.20 RM	60-80 RM
1 kg bread	0.37 RM	20-30 RM
1 kg bread		20 RM
1 kg potatoes	0.12 RM	4 RM
1 kg potatoes		12 RM
1 kg sugar	1.07 RM	120-180 RM
20 cigarettes	2.80 RM	70-100 RM (US) 50 RM (French)
1 l. cooking oil	2.50 RM	150-180 RM (1946) 230-360 RM (1947-48)
1 kg butter	4.00 RM	350-550 RM
1 kg milk powder		140-160 RM
1 bottle wine	2.00 RM	30-40 RM
1 l. spirit		300 RM
1 l. petrol		8-12 RM
1 coffee cup		20 RM
1 bar T-soap	0.35 RM	30-50 RM 35 RM
1 light bulb		40 RM
1 pair shoes (leather)		500-800 RM
1 dress		250-1 200 RM
1 bicycle		1 500 RM
1 fur coat		6 000 RM
1 Opel P 4		10 000 RM

Where no official price is stated, only a minimal or no supply existed.

Source: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., Neubeginn und Wiederaufbau 1945-1949 (Bonn, 1981), p.8.

TABLE III LIST OF AMERICAN PLAYS AVAILABLE IN TRANSLATION

Anderson, Maxwell	Knickerbockers
	Maria von Schottland
	Leute wie du und ich
Ardrey, Robert	Leuchtfeuer
Behrmann, S. N.	Biographie und Liebe
	Der Elfenbeinturm
	Haus Leonie
Besier, Rudolf	Elizabeth
Brewer & Bloch	Das Licht des Lebens
Coffee & Cowen	Eine Familie
Chororov & Fields	Miss Judy
Crothers, Rachel	Suzan und Gott
Davis, Donald & Owen	Die Schlittenfahrt
Druten, John van	Das Lied der Taube
	So war Mama
Franken, Rose	Claudia
	Eine andere Sprache
Hagan, James	Ein Sonntagnachmittag
Hammerstein II, Oscar	Oklahoma
Hart, Moss	Die Dame im Dunklen
Holm & Abbot	Drei Mann auf einem Pferd
Job, Thomas	Onkel Harry
Kingsley, Sidney	Die Patrioten
	Menschen in Weiß
Langner, Lawrence & Arminia	Das Streben nach Glück
Lavery, Emmet	Die erste Legion
Lindsay & Crouse	Der Herr im Haus
O'Neill, Eugene	Trauer muß Elektra tragen
	O Wildnis!
Osborn, Paul	Galgenfrist
	Spätsommer
Reed, Mark	Ja, mein Liebling
Rice, Elmer	Die Rechenmaschine
Ryerson & Clements	Harriet

Continued

TABLE III (Continued)

Saroyan, William	Mein Herz ist im Hochland Einmal im Leben
Sherwood, Robert Emmet	Abe Lincoln in Illinois
Spewack, Bella & Samuel	Glück in Windeln
Steinbeck, John	Von Menschen und Mäusern
Wilder, Thornton	Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen Eine kleine Stadt Glückliche Reise
Williams, Jesse Lynch	Warum heiraten?
Williams, Tennessee	Die Glasmenagerie
<hr/>	
<u>Source:</u> Amerikanische Nachrichtenkontrolle, Theater- und Musik- abteilung, OMGUS, ed., <u>Amerikanische Theaterstücke</u> (Berlin, 1948).	

NOTES

"I want the theatre to be ..."

1. W. H. Auden, "I want the theatre to be ..." from the theatre programme, Group Theatre Season, Sweeny Agonistes and The Dance of Death, Westminster Theatre, 1.10.1935 as cited in Samuel Hynes, The Auden Generation (London 1976), p.399.
2. It is important to note that commentators were writing even before de-nazification got underway. Not all critics were exonerated (e.g. the case of Walter Koch who committed suicide after it had been discovered that his de-nazification questionnaire had been falsified).
3. K. H. Ruppel, "Geisteswandel im modernen Spielplan" in Alfred Dahlmann, ed., Der Theater-Almanach 1946/47 (München, 1946), p.68.
4. Friedrich Schiller, "Was kann eine gute stehende Schaubühne eigentlich wirken?" in Schillers Werke 20 (Weimar, 1962), p.91.
5. Schiller, pp.93.
6. Schiller, p.97.
7. U. Seelmann-Eggebert, "Rhein-Main-Neckar-Gebiet" in A. Dahlmann, ed., Der Theater-Almanach 1947 (München, 1947), pp.357-8.
8. Cf. Falk Harnack, Die Aufgaben des deutschen Theaters in der Gegenwart (München, 1946), p.13 or the aforementioned Walter Koch who noted: 'Da die Vergottung des Staates zur Vertierung der Menschen geführt hat, ist die Wiedereinsetzung menschlicher Werte heute die entscheidende Aufgabe der Kunst, insbesondere der Schaubühne'.

W. Koch, "Zu Grundfragen des Spielplans" in Dahlmann,
Theater-Almanach 1947, p.56.

9. Compare, for example, Hanns Eisler's comment on returning to Germany from exile: 'Ich war in Paris und in Amerika. Aber nur in Deutschland wird die Kunst mit jenem Ernst betrieben, den sie verlangt'.
Cited in H. Daiber, Deutsches Theater seit 1945 (Stuttgart, 1976), p.57.
That such attitudes still exist and still arouse comment is shown by the fact that the Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen broadcast a discussion programme entitled Die Schwierigkeit der Deutschen mit dem Leichten on 28 April 1983 in which viewers and representatives of television, theatre, and the media confirmed the phenomenon, not least by the tenor of their discussion.
10. Die Dreigroschenoper is an obvious example.
11. René Drommert, who was a virulent critic of "das Unterhaltungstheater", was a champion of the Kammerspiele. Compare his article "Hamburgs Schauspielbühnen nach dem Kriege" in Dr. Paul Th. Hoffmann, ed., Hamburger Jahrbuch für Theater und Musik 1947-48 (Hamburg, 1947), pp.66-90.
12. Ida Ehre, "Erster Rückblick" in Hoffmann, pp.287-8.
13. Cf. Gerhard Metzner in his essay "Kunst und Unterhaltung" in Josef M. Rubner and Theo P. Huster, eds., Chronik der neuen Münchner Theatergeschichte, 2 (München, 1946), p.15.
14. Ehre in Hoffmann, p.288.
15. Rudolf Stobbe, "Europäisches Theater - deutsche Situation" in Hoffmann, p.113.

16. Manifest des Kulturbundes zur demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands (Gründungskundgebung, 4.7.1945 im Haus des Berliner Rundfunks) (Berlin, 1945), p.8.
17. Herbert Jhering, "Die Bedeutung der Provinz" in Deutsche Akademie der Künste zu Berlin, ed., Theater der produktiven Widersprüche 1945-1949 (Berlin, DDR, 1967), p.50.
18. Harnack, p.5.
19. Harnack, p.12.
20. Harnack, p.17.
21. Harnack, p.15.
22. Harnack, p.19.
23. Ruppel in Dahlmann, Theater-Almanach 1945/47, p.63.
24. Cf. Rudolf Stobbe who noted: 'Total war die Diktatur, total der Krieg und total der Zusammenbruch; total mußte auch der Niedergang des Dramas in Deutschland sein. Heute müssen Theater und Drama in Deutschland von den Fundamenten her neu aufgebaut werden'.
Stobbe in Hoffmann, p.104.
25. Drommert in Hoffmann, p.74.
26. Heinz Hilpert, Von Sinn und Wesen des Theaters in unserer Zeit (Hamburg, 1946), p.19.

"Die Stunde Null"

1. The European Advisory Council protocol of 9 September 1944 gives details of the division of Germany into three Zones of occupation. The decision to offer France a Zone and Sector of Berlin was included in the Conference of Yalta (3.-11.2.1945) and was achieved by Britain and the United States relinquishing parts of the Zones allocated to them in the above mentioned protocol . T. Stammen, ed., Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit (München, 1965), pp.22-26.
2. Klaus Mehnert speaks of 6.5 million dwellings destroyed in Der deutsche Standort (Frankfurt, 1969), p.117 while in Neubeginn und Wiederaufbau 1945-1949 the figure of 'fast 5 Millionen' is quoted.
Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, ed., Neubeginn und Wiederaufbau 1945-1949 (Bonn, 1981), p.3.
3. S. Spender, "Rhineland Journey" in The Thirties and After (Glasgow, 1978), pp.133-4.
4. W. Unruh, "Die Zerstörung der Hamburger Theater im Krieg 1939-1945" in Hoffmann, pp.45-7.
5. Unruh in Hoffmann, p.34.
6. F. P. Buch, "Vom Gegenwartsauftrag des Theaters" in Dahlmann, Theater-Almanach 1946/47, p.72.
7. C. Nissen, "Die Revolution der Phantasie" in H. Zirnbauer, ed., Stimmen der Zeit (Coburg, 1952), p.43.
8. Johanniskirche, Harvestehude (Interview with Ida Ehre, 12.5.1982 in Hamburg).
9. O. Wälterlin, Verantwortung des Theaters (Berlin, 1947), pp.19-20.
10. Wälterlin, p.20.

11. H. Gröbblinghoff, "Nach dem Kreig" in Stadt Bochum, ed., Saladin Schmitt (Bochum, 1964), p.140.
12. C. Riess, Sie haben es noch einmal geschafft (Berlin and Frankfurt, 1955), pp.273-282.
13. The procedure concerning the granting of licenses will be dealt with in the section on the occupying powers.
14. The Kammerspiele existed in Hamburg before the war under the direction of Erich Ziegel. Although the building was not destroyed it was taken over by the Deutsches Schauspielhaus. The Kammerspiele under Ida Ehre was thus a new theatre.
15. Interview with Ida Ehre, 12.5.1982.
16. K. Haack, In Berlin und anderswo (München, 1981), p.116.
17. U. Herking, Danke für die Blumen (München, 1973), p.82.
18. F. Erpenbeck, ed., Theaterdienst, 9 (1947), p.12.
19. Erpenbeck, 14 (1946), p.11.
20. Bundeszentrale f. politische Bildung, p.6.
21. Bundeszentrale f. politische Bildung, p.5.
22. Cited in A. Grosser, Deutschlandbilanz (München, 1972), p.85.
23. E. Otto, "Die Lage der Bühnenmitglieder" in Deutscher Bühnenverein, ed., Das deutsche Theater der Gegenwart (Stuttgart, 1948), pp.85-6.
24. Riess, pp.287-8.
25. K. Lieffen, Was fällt Ihnen ein? (Frankfurt, 1976), pp.63, 69, 72).
26. Bundeszentrale f. politische Bildung, pp.7-8.
27. C. Zuckmayer, Als wär's ein Stück von mir (Frankfurt, 1977), p.618.

28. The situation in Berlin, then as now, was not typical despite many parallels with other parts of the country. The Soviet army occupied Berlin alone until the arrival of the Americans and British at the beginning of July, and the French in August 1945..
29. F. Luft, preface to H. J. Reichhardt, 25 Jahre Theater in Berlin (Berlin, 1972), p.7.
30. Luft, p.10.
31. P. Brook, The Empty Space (Harmondsworth, 1982), p.49.
32. Zuckmayer, p.618.
33. For evidence of this compare Field Marshal Montgomery's "Botschaft an die Bevölkerung der britischen Besatzungszone" of 10 June 1945. Having referred to Germany's responsibility for the First World War, the message continues:
- Als Eure Führer abermals diesen Krieg mutwillig auslösten, habt Ihr ihnen Beifall gezollt. Abermals wurden Eure Armeen nach Jahren von Zerstörung und Elend geschlagen. Dieses Mal sind die Alliierten entschlossen, daß Ihr Eure Lektion lernen sollt, und zwar nicht nur, daß Ihr geschlagen wurdet, was Ihr jetzt wohl wissen müßt, sondern auch, daß Ihr als Nation schuld am Beginn des Krieges wart(...) Ihr denkt, daß nicht Ihr, sondern Eure Führer für diese Dinge (atrocities) verantwortlich sind. Aber diese Führer sind aus dem deutschen Volk gewachsen. Die Nation ist verantwortlich für ihre Führer.
- Cited in R. Wildermuth, ed., Als das Gestern heute war (München, 1977), pp. 287-8.
34. W. Paul, "Tribüne der Umschmelzung?" in R. Pechel, ed., Deutsche Rundschau, 5 (1946), p.124.

The Occupying Powers

1. "Erklärung in Anbetracht der Niederlage Deutschlands" (5.6.1945) in Stammen, p.17.
2. "Feststellung über die Besatzungszonen" (5.6.1945) in Stammen, p.17.
3. Lord Annan at the Conference: The Political Re-education of Germany and her Allies after World War II (London, 8.4.1983).
4. H. Becker, "Retrospective View from the German Side" in A. Hearnden, ed., The British in Germany (London, 1978), p.268.
5. The branches of the Education and Cultural Relations Division of the United States Army were based in München, Stuttgart, Wiesbaden, and Bremen; the Cultural Relations Branch of the British Army had offices in Düsseldorf, Hannover, Hamburg, and Kiel; the Cultural Department of the Soviet Military Government was represented in Potsdam, Schwerin, Halle, Dresden, and Weimar and the Groupe Française du Conseil de Contrôle, Direction Générale des Affaires Administratives had its single branch in Baden-Baden.
Source: Deutsches Bühnenjahrbuch 1945-1948.
6. Unsigned, "Die Arbeit der Theaterkontrolle" in Münchener Merkur, 23.12.1945.
7. A. Schönfelder (in honour of Willy Maertens's silver jubilee at the Thalia-Theater) in Thalia Theater, ed., Programm-Heft 4 (Hamburg, 1952/53).
8. H. W. Sattler, "Das deutsche Privattheater" in Deutscher Bühnenverein, p.67.
9. Rubner and Huster, p.5.

10. Münchener Merkur, 23.12.1945.
11. Report of 17.2.1947 from Benno D. Frank to Eric T. Clarke in W. Lange, Theater in Deutschland nach 1945 - Zur Theaterpolitik der amerikanischen Besatzungsbehörden (Frankfurt, 1980), p.749.
12. Max Frisch in Daiber, p.35.
13. Luft in Reichhardt, p.8.
14. Reichhardt, p.433.
15. J. H. Kelly to OB Scharnagel (19.9.1947) in F. Prinz, ed., Trümmerzeit in München (München, 1984), p.34.
16. Luft in Reichhardt, p.11.
17. OMGUS Report, Info., No. 4, 1 in H. Gehring, Amerikanische Literaturpolitik in Deutschland 1945-1953 - Ein Aspekt des Re-education Programms (Stuttgart, 1976), p.65.
18. Report of 3.5.1946 from G. W. Houghton to the Permanent Secretary, "German Theatres and Music", Public Records Office (PRO) ref. no. FO 946/57.
19. Report of 4.6.1946 from Maj. Thompson to Director Information Services, PRO, ref. no. FO 946/57.
20. The original reads: 'The name of a man is a numbing blow from which he never recovers'.

Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man (London, 1964), p.2.
21. There were, of course, exceptions like John Olden.
22. Report of 5.3.1947 from Frank to Clarke in Lange, p.752.
23. 'Hilpert sollte es (Des Teufels General) auf Wunsch des Autors auch in Deutschland herausbringen. Hamburg kam ihm um zwei Wochen zuvor ...'

B. E. Werner, "Hilpert inszenierte" in Die neue Zeitung, 1.12.1947, et al.

The confusion about the German premiere, which is cited incorrectly by such reliable authorities as Hans Daiber (p.72) and Kindlers Literaturgeschichte der Gegenwart (Dieter Lattmann, ed., 2 (Frankfurt, 1976), p.221) probably stems from two facts. Firstly, it was Zuckmayer's wish that the play should receive its first German performance in Frankfurt. Secondly, he himself does not mention the Hamburg production in his autobiography, while describing Hilpert's Frankfurt production as "die Premiere" (Zuckmayer, p.627).

24. Rheinischer Merkur, 3.5.1947.
25. Der aktuelle Dienst (Rudolf Lubowski) ed., Die Bühnenkritik, 2 (1948).
26. Daiber, p.12.
27. Luft in Reichhardt, p.12.
28. Report of 4.5.1949 from John Evarts to Col. MacMahon, "Control of American Plays" in Lange, p.760.
29. Evarts specifically refers to Arthur Miller, Lilian Hellman and Clifford Odets, p.760.
30. W. Schnurre in R. Pechel, ed., Deutsche Rundschau, 2 (1947), p.162.
31. Dahlmann, Theater-Almanach 1947, p.435.
32. The system functioned as described in the following passage:

The dramatists concerned forgo all claim to royalties, and the five per cent royalty which would normally be their share accrues to the credit of Military Government for the Treasury. Except in special circumstances, the translator is remunerated by the agent handling the play, and the translator's royalty has been fixed at three per cent and the agent's share at two per cent. Unless the arrangement is renewed by a

further purchase of rights, to be made by mutual consent, all rights in the play revert to the dramatist at the end of one year, and the agent can then only continue to handle the play on behalf of the translator and himself by entering into a direct contract with the author.

Report of 16.3.1946 from Ashley Dukes, ISC Branch, Bünde to Control Office for Germany and Austria, London, "Payment of Copyright Dues to British Dramatists (Germany)", PRO ref. no. FO 946/8.

33. Gehring, pp.61-2.
34. Amerikanische Nachrichtenkontrolle, Theater-und Musikabteilung, OMGUS, ed., Amerikanische Theaterstücke (Berlin, 1948), p.3.
35. "Potsdam Agreement" in Hearnden, p.11.
36. Sir Robert Birley, "British Policy in Retrospect" in Hearnden, pp.46-7.
37. The term preferred was "educational reconstruction".
38. Sir Hugh Greene at the Conference, 8.4.1983.
39. Prof. Michael Balfour at the Conference, 8.4.1983.
40. Birley in Hearnden, p.57.
41. A. W. J. Edwards in Hearnden, p.285.
42. Prof. George Allen at the Conference, 8.4.1983.
43. Becker in Hearnden, p.269.
44. Grosser, p.81.
45. Sir Hugh Greene makes it clear that due to the integrity of the service during the war years, the BBC enjoyed a special position in post-war Germany, putting it ahead of the other Allies. The French were hampered to some extent by the fact that the Germans considered them a defeated nation.
Greene at the Conference, 8.4.1983.

46. Grosser, pp.81-2.
47. Letter of 3.6.1947 from Films and Theater Section, CAD/RO to the publisher Brandt in Gehring, p.64.
48. Schnurre in Pechel, p.162.
49. Report of 17.2.1947 from Frank to Clarke in Lange, p.749.
50. Report of 4.6.1946 from Thompson to D.I.S. PRO ref. no. FO 946/57.
51. Report of 3.5.1946 from Houghton to Permanent Sec., PRO ref. no. FO 946/57.
52. Houghton to Permanent Sec., PRO ref. no. FO 946/57.
53. Note of 9.3.1946 from Houghton to Permanent Sec., PRO ref. no. FO 946/8.
54. Der aktuelle Dienst, 3 (1947).
55. F. Luft, Berliner Theater 1945-1961 (Hannover, 1961), pp.21-4 (Newspaper article of 6.5.1947).
56. P. Rilla, Theaterkritiken, edited by L. Pfelling (Berlin, DDR, 1978), pp.190-5. (Newspaper article of 6.5.1947).
57. Report of 5.3.1947 from Frank to Clarke in Lange, p.751.
56. Frank to Clarke in Lange, p.752.
59. According to Hans Daiber the size of the "Pajoks" depended on the achievements and fame of the individual actor. This led to considerable controversy at the theatres:

Die Prominenten brauchten Koffer, um die Lebensmittel fortzuschaffen, die kleinen Leute kamen mit einer Aktentasche aus. Dieses System machte böses Blut, war im Deutschen Theater unter Wangenheim (1945-1946) Thema einer Betriebsversammlung, in der der Schauspieler Peter Schmidt erklärte, er habe einen Magen wie ein Prominenter. Und die hätten doch ihre Prominenz in der Nazizeit erworben! Jetzt würden sie dafür belohnt.

Daiber, p.33.

60. Zuckmayer's report has never been published. According to his daughter he had never intended it to be published and she is unwilling to allow it even to be used for research. 'Man müsste auch erst jede Einzelheit ganz genau überprüfen(...) Solange diese Arbeit nicht getan ist, wäre es verantwortungslos, den Report zugänglich zu machen'. Letter of 6.8.1985 from Maria Guttenbrunner-Zuckmayer, Saas-Fee to the author.
61. Zuckmayer, p.619.
62. Zuckmayer, p.616.
63. Haack, p.118.
64. Lieffen, p.66.
65. Luft in Reichardt, p.12.
66. Balfour at the Conference, 8.4.1983.
67. F. Lusset, "Französische Theaterstücke in Deutschland" in H. Jhering, ed., Theaterstadt Berlin (Berlin, 1948), pp.105-6.
68. Letter of 8.4.1947 from Brian Dunn, I.S.C. Branch, Bünde to E. H. Underwood, I.S. Division, Control Office, PRO ref. no. FO 946/57.
69. Report of 3.5.1946 from Houghton to Permanent Secretary, PRO ref. no. FO 946/57.
70. W. Sasse in Städtische Bühne Hagen, ed., Programm-Heft (Hagen, 1949/1950).
71. My father, Cecil A. Knight, was the officer in charge of the labour exchange in Köln from 22.10.1945 to 6.6.1946 who enabled Günter Wand to re-open the opera with a performance of Die Zauberflöte shortly before Christmas 1945.
72. Cf. M. Berger, M. Nössig, F. Rödel, Theater der Zeiterwende (Berlin, GDR, 1972).

C H A P T E R I I

"WAS SPIELTEN DIE THEATER?"

- The Theatres: Problem of Sources and Statistics
- Premieres
- Repertoire

The Theatres: Problems of Sources and Statistics

The systematic reconstruction of theatre repertoires in the earliest post-war period is fraught with difficulties. Was spielten die Theater? is the title of a publication compiled by Dieter Hadamczik, Jochen Schmidt and Werner Schulze-Reimpell describing and analyzing the repertoires of theatres in the Federal Republic of Germany between 1947 and 1975. In the introduction they note:

Aus den Spielzeiten 1945/46 und 1946/47 fehlen sämtliche Angaben(...) Erst 1947 begann in einer neuen Ordnung der Verhältnisse eine systematische, zentralisierte Erfassung der an den Theatern aufgeführten Werke. Die ersten beiden Jahre sind also weiterhin nur lokal rekonstruierbar.¹

In what follows an account will be given of the theatres existing in the Western Zones and West Berlin, and of the historiographical problems attendant upon such reconstruction and analysis. The difficulties involved in gathering the information required are touched on in the above quotation: there is no single source either for checking the existence of theatres or their repertoires in the first two post-war seasons.²

Initially the method of approach chosen was to request information from the archives of theatres throughout the Federal Republic of Germany. This approach proved unsatisfactory for reasons such as the following: the archive of the Städtische Bühne Hagen was destroyed when new construction work was undertaken in the late 1960s, early 1970s. Only a few very valuable items were transferred to the municipal archive. Furthermore, in the Fifties Hagen closed its drama section so that today no-one is left who knew the theatre immediately after the war;³ for space reasons a number of theatres such as the Landestheater

Coburg have transferred their archive material to state libraries ("Landesbibliothek") or municipal archives ("Stadtarchiv") and are no longer informed as to what is documented; in one extreme case (Düsseldorfer Schauspielhaus) lack of cooperation by the theatre proved to be a major hindrance.

Before pursuing the quest to establish which theatres actually existed in the Western Zones and Berlin between 1945 and 1948 some space should be devoted to the differing and potentially confusing types of theatre to which reference will be made.

State theatres ("Staatstheater") developed from the court theatres ("Hoftheater") of the eighteenth century. The state which maintains or subsidizes them has never been the nation state but originally the principality, later the province and, following the creation of the Federal Republic, the Land which they serve. Thus while state theatres can be found both in major cities like München (Bayerisches Staatstheater) and in provincial towns such as Oldenburg (Staatstheater Oldenburg) or Wiesbaden (Hessisches Staatstheater), the burden of finance is not borne exclusively by the municipal authorities. The repertoire of state theatres usually covers opera, operetta, drama and often ballet, too.

Today municipal theatres ("Stadttheater") frequently present each of these genres as well and, artistically, there is often little difference between the two types of theatre. Municipal theatres were the result of a bourgeois theatre culture which brought about the construction of many, often monumental theatres in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Originally state and municipal theatres were in competition with each other but, as Werner Schulze-Reimpell points out in his brochure on theatre in the Federal Republic of Germany, this

ceased with the fall of the monarchy in 1918 when the status of the two types of theatre started to become less differentiated.⁴

Responsibility for subsidizing municipal theatres rests solely with the town concerned. Municipal theatres sometimes include chamber theatres ("Kammerspiele") although these can also be privately-maintained houses. Chamber theatres are smaller and more intimate and came into existence soon after the beginning of the twentieth century to provide a more suitable framework for works by authors such as Ibsen and Strindberg. Indeed, the very first "Kammerspiele" at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin opened with Ibsen's Gespenster directed by Max Reinhardt in 1906. Originally chamber theatres were synonymous with modern, psychological drama but nowadays the nomenclature suggests nothing more than a small theatre.

Another type of theatre is the Land theatre ("Landestheater") which, while being based in a certain town, serves a whole area without theatres of its own. Examples include the Landestheater Darmstadt (still called the Hessisches Landestheater Darmstadt during the first post-war season) which has remained active, while some houses like the Hohenzollernsches Landestheater in Sigmaringen have not survived. Land theatres are subsidized from various public funds and have in some cases been replaced by commercial touring theatres ("Gastspieltheater" or "Wanderbühnen") relying exclusively on private financing and box-office takings.

Even the next category, however, private theatres ("Privattheater") tend to receive some public funding nowadays. During the period 1945-1948 private financing was the sole source of income besides the box-office and consequently many private theatres did not survive for very long. Exceptions include Ida Ehre's Hamburger Kammerspiele and Fritz Rémond's Kleines Theater am Zoo in Frankfurt.

Finally, folk theatres ("Bauern-" and "Volks-theater") should be mentioned which frequently specialize in dialect plays and can be found both in cities (Niederdeutsche Bühne, Richard-Ohnsorg-Theater in Hamburg) and in the country (e.g. Oberbayerische Bauernbühne, Reit im Winkl).

Determining exactly how many of these various types of theatre existed between 1945 and 1948 is a problematic undertaking. In Was spielten die Theater? the authors note that there were 133 theatres in the Western Zones and West-Berlin in 1947/48. This figure is based on the statistics collated by the Deutscher Bühnenverein from responses to their questionnaire distributed to German theatres at the time. The first published statistics cover the season 1949/1950 but include comparative figures for the two previous seasons. The 133 theatres cited reflect the number of theatres which responded to the DBV-questionnaire which, it can be assumed, not all theatres did.⁵ Furthermore, this figure roughly corresponds to the statistics for 1947/48 published in the Deutsches Bühnenjahrbuch 1945/1948 if reference is made solely to the entries for state, Land and municipal theatres. If the statistics for private, touring and folk theatres also mentioned in this volume were included in the calculations the total would be at least 283 theatres in the Western Zones and West Berlin.

TABLE IV STATISTICAL SURVEY OF GERMAN THEATRES - 1947/1948

Zones	State, Land and Municipi- pal incl. temporary stages	Private theatres incl. temporary stages	Touring Folk theatres etc.	Total
Berlin ⁺	13	14	15	42 (43) ⁺⁺
American Zone	43	39	24	96 (95) ⁺⁺
British Zone	68	66	10	144
French ⁺⁺⁺ Zone	14	6	1	21
Total	138	115	50	303
⁺ Berlin including Russian Sector ⁺⁺ Error in addition ⁺⁺⁺ Excluding Saarbrücken				
Source: GDBA, ed. <u>Deutsches Bühnenjahrbuch 1945-1948</u> (Berlin, 1948)				

Two other sources can be called upon in an attempt to establish statistics: the Theater-Almanach, edited by Alfred Dahlmann, and Fritz Erpenbeck's periodical Theaterdienst, both of which published lists of contemporary theatres in the years under consideration. Since 1947/48 is the only one of the three seasons documented at all it is interesting to start with this season and work backwards. Yet even the official data for 1947/48 should not be considered definitive. As the compilers of Was spielten die Theater? are only

too willing to concede, no reliable statistics on the theatre in this period can be determined, however painstaking the research, since countless groups sprang up in the chaos of the post-war years and disappeared again just as quickly leaving no trace of their existence.⁶ On top of this, in the undocumented seasons 1945/46 and 1946/47 there were a number of theatres which were so short-lived that they appear only in one source and not in the others. There is no indication, for example, that the Hunsrück-Hochwald-Mosel-Bühne in Sohren or the Niederrheinische Schauspielbühne in Rheinhausen existed for more than one season (1945/46) and, while the former is only cited by Dahlmann,⁷ the latter is only mentioned by Erpenbeck.⁸ Furthermore, amalgamations and separations took place such as those between Fürth and Nürnberg ("Vereinigte Stadttheater"⁹) and Tübingen and Reutlingen ("Städtetheater Tübingen-Reutlingen",¹⁰ later Landestheater Württemberg-Hohenzollern, Tübingen) which make it difficult to determine absolute statistics. A simple comparison of the figures quoted by the contemporary sources cited here illustrates the problem. Fritz Erpenbeck in Theaterdienst reports that at the beginning of the 1946/47 season there were:

79 theatres in the British Zone
60 theatres in the American Zone
14 theatres in the French Zone
15 theatres in Berlin.¹¹

This makes a total of 168 theatres. For the same period Alfred Dahlmann lists 120 theatres in the Western Zones and Berlin.¹²

The alphabetical lists in Tables VII and VIII contain all the types of theatre described above as cited in the two contemporary sources mentioned for the seasons 1945/46 and 1946/47. Including folk theatres, private theatres etc. there were at least 143 theatres functioning in the Western Zones and Berlin in 1945/46 and as many as 247 in 1946/47. Once again it is important to emphasize that while it can be assumed that the theatres listed here did perform during the period indicated, the lists should not be considered definitive,

Having established to as high a degree of certainty as possible which theatres existed in the first two post-war seasons the next consideration was to try and discover what they performed. While works like the Theater-Almanach do at least provide lists of theatres which can be compared with information from other sources, no such contemporary lists exist compiling the repertoires of all the theatres. Contemporary data are available for certain major cities. Alfred Dahlmann discusses the München repertoires in the Theater-Almanach 1946/47 and 1947,¹³ other observers cover Hamburg¹⁴ and, for the 1946/47 season, Berlin and the Rhein-Main-Neckar area.¹⁵ Hamburg and Berlin are both documented, the former by the Hamburger Jahrbuch für Theater und Musik¹⁶ and the latter by Theaterstadt Berlin,¹⁷ both of which print performance lists in appendices.

In view of the potential unreliability of such data it was necessary to seek confirmation for the information gathered as well as attempting to find equivalent information on the repertoires of other theatres.

In some cases theatres which still exist today have retained (hand-) printed, contemporary lists of early post-war productions which could be viewed or copied. The Münchner Kammerspiele, for example, possess carefully compiled hand-written lists noting seasons, titles and author, date and place of first performance, and type of performance for the Staatsschauspiele München. The entries for 1945/46 read:

TABLE V BAYERISCHES STAATSSCHAUSPIEL MÜNCHEN REPERTOIRE: 1945/46

12. Jan. 46	Der Kreidekreis - Klabund	Gastspiel	E
31. März	Sommernachtraum - Shakespeare	Pr.	N
18. Mai	Nathan der Weise - Lessing	Brunnenhof - Res.	N
24. Mai	Leuchtfeuer - Ardrey	...	E
25. Juni	Antigone - Anouilh	...	E
24. Juli	Liliom - Molnar	...	N
20. Aug.	Tintenspritzer - v. Spallart	...	E
<hr/>			
<u>Key</u>	Pr. = Prinzregententheater	Brunnenhof = Theater am Brunnenhof	
	E = Erstaufführung	(temporary stage for	
	N = Neueinstudierung	Residenz)	

Similarly the Stadtheater Gießen possesses early type-written lists covering the period after 1943. They were compiled by a theatre enthusiast who noted all the performances he had attended. These lists are not exhaustive and could not be used as the exclusive source of information in reconstructing the Gießen repertoire but they serve to illustrate another of the many avenues which have to be explored in order to reach any conclusions on what was produced by the theatres at the time.

Unfortunately, really reliable lists like the one from München quoted above are the exception. In most cases the theatres do not hold lists of this kind at all; instead the relevant "Landesbibliothek" or "Stadtarchiv" had to be consulted. Here the information was not always ordered or archived and usually incomplete. In the most favourable cases municipal archives possess histories of the local theatres or copies of books published to celebrate a theatre's anniversary. These often include performance lists. H. Schwab-Felisch's Das Düsseldorfer Schauspielhaus,¹⁸ for example, or the Festschrift 1947: Zum 40-jährigen Jubiläum des Stadttheaters Gießen¹⁹ could be utilized for this purpose. In slightly less favourable cases, where no specific documentation was available, newspapers could sometimes be used. "What's On?"-columns in daily or weekly newspapers proved a fruitful source for piecing together repertoires, at least for the publicly maintained houses. Hence the complete repertoires for the first three seasons at the Stadttheater Saarbrücken were taken from the (Neue) Saarbrücker Zeitung in the Stadtarchiv Saarbrücken. The information gathered in this way is not as comprehensive as a theatre's own lists but it does at least allow repertoires, if not exact dates or types of production, to be reconstructed. The 1945/46 season in Saarbrücken, for example, comprised:

TABLE VI STADTTHEATER SAARBRÜCKEN REPERTOIRE: 1945/46

Hofmannsthal - Das große Welttheater (opening 9.5.1946)
Burgkranz/Zimmer - Kuddelmuddel
Molière - Tartüff
Gorki - Nachtsyl
Balzer - Die Seifenblase
Goethe - Die Mitschuldigen/Die Geschwister
Rotkäppchen
Guest appearances by French groups, e.g. Comédie Française

Finally, the various theatre collections proved to be useful, though not always comprehensive sources. Especially in the form of programmes ("Programmhefte") and leaflets ("Theaterzettel, Postwurfsendungen") institutions like the Theatersammlung der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg, the Dumont-Lindemann Archiv in Düsseldorf and the Theatermuseum (Universität Köln) all provided some of the pieces in the puzzle. It is, however, far from complete. It would take as many years again to visit every single municipal archive and sift through newspapers, searching the "What's On?"-columns, quite apart from the fact that newspapers - like everything else from the period under discussion - are not always available in their entirety either.

For these reasons it was necessary to select a restricted number of repertoires and limit the present account of repertoire to a representative group of theatres for which documentation was available. In accordance with the distribution of theatres throughout the three Western Zones and the traditional role of cultural centres such as München which were more numerous in the American Zone, roughly equal numbers of theatres were chosen from the British and American Zones, the smallest number from the French Zone. The intention was to achieve a representative cross-section of theatres both geographically and according to the types covered by Tables V and VI in order to analyse their activities between 1945 and 1948. These criteria lead to the selection of the following theatres:

<u>American Zone</u>	<u>British Zone</u>
Landestheater COBURG	Bühne der Stadt BOCHUM
(Hess.) Landestheater DARMSTADT	Bühne der Stadt BONN
Städtische Bühnen FRANKFURT/M.	Kammerschauspiele/Neue Kammerspiele BONN
Stadttheater GIESSEN	Städtische Bühnen DÜSSELDORF
Nationaltheater MANNHEIM	Städtische Bühnen HAGEN
Münchner Kammerspiele MÜNCHEN	Deutsches Schauspielhaus HAMBURG
Bayerisches Staatsschauspiel MÜNCHEN	Hamburger Kammerspiele HAMBURG
Württembergisches Staatstheater STUTTGART	Städtische Bühnen KÖLN
	Städtische Bühnen MÜNCHEN-GLADBACH-RHEYDT
<u>French Zone</u>	
Stadttheater KONSTANZ	
Stadttheater TRIER	
(Stadttheater SAARBRÜCKEN)	

Since Berlin is so well documented and only features in this investigation in cases where it is of particular relevance to a point under discussion it has been excluded from the survey of repertoires at specific theatres.

The following account of repertoire is divided into two main parts. The first covers German premieres in all the Western Zones and Berlin during the three immediate post-war seasons and the second deals with the repertoires of the above mentioned theatres in the Zones during the same period.

The problems experienced in discovering which plays were premiered in Germany between 1945 and 1948 were no less acute than those outlined with regard to ascertaining which theatres existed. The easily accessible sources are not sufficiently reliable to be used as anything more than references for cross-checking data. In the Theater-Almanach 1947 Alfred Dahlmann includes a list of the premieres in all the Zones and Berlin during the first two post-war seasons. The Deutsches Bühnenjahrbuch 1945/1948 also records premieres and new productions for some theatres

between 1945 and 1948 while Wilhelm Allgayer's Dramenlexikon of 1958 notes plays produced since 1945 including premiere dates where known. Each of these sources contains errors. Dahlmann, for example, cites Hans Henny Jahn's Armut, Reichtum, Mensch und Tier as having been premiered in Hamburg in 1945-1946.²⁰ The place is correct but the play was not actually performed for the first time until 26 June 1948.²¹ More acutely, however, he fails to record premieres which did take place such as Georg Kaiser's Der Gärtner von Toulouse (22 December 1945 in Mannheim). The Deutsches Bühnenjahrbuch does not attempt to list premieres systematically so that for some theatres there are no citations at all because the theatres themselves failed to provide the requisite information. The Dramenlexikon contains some obvious errors such as the entry for the German premiere of Ardrey's Leuchtfeuer which is given as Düsseldorf on 30 May 1946, more than six months after the Berlin and Hamburg productions.²²

It has only been possible to validate the details cited in what follows by a series of cross-checks with literary biographies, programmes, newspapers and so on. There are some gaps in the exact dates of premieres either because the sources are so contradictory that no acceptable conclusion can be drawn or because the sources are not available.

A further instance of just how fragmentary the sources are was provided recently by Friedrich Luft. In a series of radio broadcasts describing life at the "Stunde Null" entitled Irgendwie ging's weiter he recalled having been requested by Paul Wegener at the "Kammer der Kunstschaffenden" to write a prologue to Schiller's Der Parasit for the opening of the Deutsches Theater in Berlin on 26 June 1945. He did so but, for no known reasons, neither he nor the Deutsches Theater possess a copy of that prologue. Like so much at the time it simply got lost.²³

Premieres

The choice of plays the theatres actually produced was determined by a number of factors, only some of which were specific to the immediate post-war period. The types of theatre, as defined earlier, traditionally offered differing fare: while a municipal theatre usually performed ballet, operetta and opera as well as drama, for example, chamber theatres normally only covered drama and that of the more intimate variety which could be performed on the stage of a small theatre. While productions of the classics normally requiring a large stage are sometimes put on in miniature surroundings, chamber theatres are not primarily concerned with hosting the classics.

This was as true in 1945 as at any other time. Where differences did emerge for a while was in the willingness of the various types of theatre to break away from traditionally appointed roles. This was aided by the general destruction of theatre buildings. Previously premieres had been the prerogative of the major houses in the cities and especially Berlin; municipal theatres in the provinces had lived on the classics, proven new plays and what Franz Tünder referred to in 1947 as "Provinzware", plays ranging 'vom beinah Dichterischen (...) über das leichte Unterhaltungsgenre (...) bis zum groben Schwank'.¹ In 1945 the conditions in the major houses were hardly better for hosting premieres than in the provinces, in some cases considerably worse. In the Rheinland and Ruhr areas the only theatres to have escaped the bombing more or less intact were the houses in Mönchengladbach and Rheydt. Thus in

these changed circumstances theatres in the provinces pushed to be amongst the first to produce plays which would otherwise have been out of their reach.

Of course, it was not merely a greater equality in the physical conditions which led theatres to challenge the supremacy of the formerly leading houses. Many distinguished actors and directors started working again in the provinces because this was where they happened to be when the war ended. They were not satisfied just to produce "Provinzware" but, for the first couple of seasons at least, they were content to remain where they were, developing new repertoires.

One factor determining their selection which was specific to the period was the availability of texts. Mention has been made already of the ways plays new to Germany reached the theatres, via emigrés, theatre officers etc. and, in retrospect, it is astounding that previously unperformed and even untranslated drama should have become available so soon. Bearing in mind the exceptional difficulties experienced by publishers, outlined by Victor Gollancz following his visit to the British Zone at the end of 1946, the lists of major German premieres in Table XI appear quite miraculous.²

Table XI comprises the major German premieres staged in the Western Zones and Berlin during the first three post-war seasons, i.e. plays by established and new authors which did not disappear from the repertoires after only one single production and which had not been performed in Germany (Western Zones) before 1945. Immediately a trend away from Berlin as the dominant theatre centre can be observed in the distribution of Western Zone premieres. Of the eighty-eight

plays listed only twenty-five were first performed in Berlin whereby the statistics for each season reveal: 11:28 in 1945/46; 9:38 in 1946/47 and 5:22 in 1947/48, i.e. a markedly higher percentage in 1945/46 (39.3%) than in either of the following two seasons (23.7% and 22.7% respectively).³ These figures are further relativized if it is taken into account that twelve of the Berlin premieres took place at Max Reinhardts Deutsches Theater which was in the Soviet Sector of Berlin. Furthermore, if all the premieres which took place during this period were to be included and not just the major premieres, a different picture would emerge again, revealing even fewer premieres in Berlin and the cities and more in the provinces. German premieres could also be seen in Lübeck, for example, (O. Anthes, Clotilde; H. Michaud, Sutter in 1947/48), in Regensburg (M. Zwick-Keller, Die Krähe in 1946/47), in Saarbrücken (K. Stief, Der verlorene Sohn in 1946/47), in Coburg (S. Freybe, Ein kleines Leben in 1946/47) and so on. No attempt has been made to draw up a comprehensive list, however, since in the absence of the complete repertoires of each individual theatre accuracy with regard to minor works is impossible. Nevertheless, as the data on Berlin are relatively reliable, the comparison of major premieres is possible and clearly reveals that in the immediate post-war years premieres in the provinces were not the exception to the rule.

Looking at the first two undocumented seasons in more detail certain conclusions about the Berlin-city-provinces constellation can be drawn. Of the eleven major premieres staged in Berlin in 1945-1946 eight were German, two American and one British. Five of the eight German plays might be broadly described as anti-fascist

("Antifa"),⁴ the exceptions being Friedrich Wolf's Beaumarchais, a series of episodes about the historical figure set on the eve of the French Revolution, Fred Denger's Wir heißen Euch hoffen, a contemporary play by a new, young author about the plight of young people trying to sort out their lives in the ruins of the "Stunde Null" and Georg Kaiser's Adrienne Ambrossat, in which the title figure sacrifices herself for the sake of her husband's professional reputation. Fred Denger, like Günther Weisenborn and Friedrich Wolf, lived and worked in Berlin at the time so it is not surprising that their plays should have received their German premieres in that city. Weisenborn, who had been released from imprisonment by the Russians, worked with Karl Heinz Martin as a dramatic adviser at the Hebbel-Theater. Here his play Die Illegalen, which will be discussed in some detail at a later stage, was performed for the first time on 21 March 1946 directed by Franz Reichert. Wolf's Professor Mamlock (also to be discussed later) received its German premiere in the same theatre on 9 January 1946 under the direction of Fritz Wisten while Beaumarchais was staged by Max Reinhardts Deutsches Theater directed by Paul Bildt. Wolf had spent some years in the Soviet Union only returning to Berlin after the fall of the city. In Moscow another of the 1945-1946 German premieres had been written: Julius Hay's Gerichtstag which was directed by Gustav von Wangenheim - another emigré returned from the Soviet Union and now "Intendant" of Max Reinhardts Deutsches Theater - on 18 September 1945.

It is clear the theatres in Berlin were a centre of emigré-"Antifa" both because of the personalities who congregated there at the end of the war and because of the availability of their texts. These personalities were not only made up of emigrés who had returned from the Soviet Union. Leading figures who had remained in Germany could also

be found in post-war Berlin and, prior to de-nazification, still wielded influence. Gustaf Gründgens, for example, before being interned by the Russians in Jamlitz concentration camp for nine months in July 1945, was able to provide the text of Wilder's Unsere kleine Stadt. He had obtained it from Zürich where it had been performed for the first time in German on 9 March 1939 but had been unable to produce the play in Germany due to Wilder's stipulation that his royalties should be transferred to Switzerland for the benefit of German emigré authors. The German premiere eventually took place on 3 August 1945 at the Deutsches Theater⁵ directed by Bruno Hübner but, as has already been mentioned, was taken off almost immediately by a Russian veto.⁶ Thus the German premiere is usually ascribed incorrectly to the Münchner Kammerspiele on 4 December 1945 under the direction of Erich Engel;⁷ a number of contemporary sources do not even mention the play having been performed in Berlin at all.⁸

Despite such bans, however, if it is borne in mind that the Russians, initially the only occupying power in Berlin, supported the rebirth of theatrical activity and that historically Berlin was the major theatre centre, the preponderance of premieres in the first post-war season is self-explanatory.

The other seventeen major premieres of the season 1945-1946 comprised six German, five French, four American and two British plays. Geographical distribution reveals ten German premieres in the American Zone, only two of which were of American plays (Wilder's Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen in Darmstadt and O'Neill's O Wildnis! in Esslingen); four German premieres in the

British Zone and three in the French Zone. While in the British Zone the premieres were restricted to one city, Hamburg, premieres in the French Zone took place at two centres, Konstanz and Tübingen; in the American Zone they were divided between Bremen, Darmstadt, Esslingen, Frankfurt, Mannheim and München.

Just as in Berlin, the reasons for such a wide distribution were essentially linked to the personalities to be found in the various towns and the availability of texts. Of the four German premieres which took place in Hamburg three were staged by the Hamburger Kammerspiele, the exception being Giraudoux's Sodom und Gomorrha which was first produced at the Deutsches Schauspielhaus on 21 May 1946 directed by Friedrich Siems. Ida Ehre, who had opened the Kammerspiele at the request of colleagues with Ardrey's Leuchtfeuer had little difficulty in obtaining texts due to her friendship with John Olden, like herself a Viennese Jew and now the British theatre officer in Hamburg. He was able to procure as yet unpublished manuscripts, especially of foreign plays such as Paul Osborn's Familienleben, an American comedy of "family life" which opened on 29 June 1946 directed by Willy Schweisguth. The two German plays premiered in the 1945-1946 season were Heinrich Spoerl's Die weiße Weste and Axel von Ambesser's Das Abgründige in Herrn Gerstenberg which was to become one of the most popular plays of the immediate post-war years. Die weiße Weste is concerned with small-time corruption, a very topical subject at the time. Das Abgründige in Herrn Gerstenberg, which was directed by Helmut Käutner, is reminiscent in form of Thornton Wilder's plays, incorporating a narrator and personifying the better and worse aspects of man's soul on stage.

That the play should have been premiered in Hamburg was no coincidence: not only did von Ambesser originally come from Hamburg, he was also a personal friend of Ida Ehre who has since been responsible for the German premieres of nearly all his plays.

At the other end of the country in the French Zone three German premieres were produced in the 1945-1946 season. In Tübingen Friedrich Michael's highly successful classically-based comedy Ausflug mit Damen was first put on at the Städtisches Schauspielhaus and in Konstanz Emmet Lavery's American Jesuit play Die erste Legion and, surprisingly, Brecht's Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder were both staged for the first time. The surprise is due to the fact that none of the usual sources ever mention the Konstanz production as having been the German premiere although it most certainly took place on 30 May 1946, directed by Wolfgang Engels.⁹ Reference is usually made to the famous Brecht/Engel production at the Deutsches Theater Berlin which opened on 11 January 1949 with Helene Weigel in the title role.¹⁰ It had originally been played by Therese Giehse in Zürich (19 April 1941, directed by Leopold Lindtberg) but Brecht intended Helene Weigel to play the part in Germany. There is no mention of the Konstanz production in his correspondence apart from one oblique remark in a letter to Peter Suhrkamp written a few months before the German premiere:

Der Wiederaufbau des deutschen Theaters kann nicht improvisiert werden. Sie wissen außerdem, daß ich auch schon vor der Hitlerzeit es nötig fand, angesichts des experimentellen Charakters meiner Stücke mich sehr in die Uraufführungen hineinzumischen (...) Am geeignetsten schiene mir noch, von hier aus, das Stück "Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder". Jedoch habe ich die Hauptrolle für die Weigel geschrieben, die in einigen Exilsaufführungen einen ganz speziellen Stil dafür entwickelt hat. Das Theater, das an der Aufführung interessiert wäre, müßte also ein Gastspiel der Weigel ermöglichen.¹¹

Yet it was not Helene Weigel who played Mutter Courage in Konstanz but Lina Carstens. Such anomalies are typical of these first chaotic post-war months. Horst van Diemen, "Intendant" of the Stadttheater Konstanz for a short period before moving to become "Schauspieldirektor" at the Sächsisches Staatstheater in Dresden, managed to host this important German premiere in what had hitherto been a theatrical backwater. He did enjoy a number of advantages: the theatre building had not been destroyed in the bombing and furthermore, during this first season he could call on excellent actors, including Lola Müthel and René Deltgen both of whom found themselves in Konstanz at the end of the war.

After a few months in Heidelberg Karlheinz Stroux moved to another part of the American Zone to become "Schauspieldirektor" at the Hessisches Landestheater Darmstadt. Darmstadt had a greater reputation for theatre than Konstanz and this, in combination with Stroux's presence, made it a credible venue for the German premieres of Anouilh's Antigone on 30 March 1946 and Wilder's Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen on the following day even though conditions for the performances were extremely poor. The theatre had been destroyed completely during the war.

Similarly devastated were the houses of the Städtische Bühnen Frankfurt which was able, none the less, to stage the German premiere of another play by Anouilh, Eurydike. Various rooms throughout the city were used by the theatre and Eurydike, directed by Robert Michal, was premiered in the "Börsensaal" on 2 June 1946.

It is interesting to note that although the French authorities were unstinting in promoting French culture in their Zone, none of the German premieres of major French works took place at a theatre in the French Zone although a number of unperformed French works were put on in French by visiting companies. It should not, of course, be forgotten either that the French Zone was not only the smallest geographically but contained by far the fewest theatres.

The two other important French plays which could be seen in Germany for the first time that year were produced in the capital of the American Zone, München. One was yet another play by Anouilh, Der Passagier ohne Gepäck which was presented by the Volkstheater in May 1946 directed by Willem Holsboer. It caused considerable interest amongst audiences despite its studied theatricality which was seldom understood. The story of a man who lost his memory in the (First) War, lived in a hospital for eighteen years until being encouraged by a patroness to re-discover his past, was seen as being very topical. In a review of the Berlin production, for example, shortly after the German premiere in München, Werner Fiedler noted:

Das Schicksal verlangt wohl von jedem Heimkehrenden,
einen Rock wieder anzuziehen, aus dem er längst
herausgewachsen ist. Fast immer bedeutet Heimkehr:
eine Erbschaft mit ungedeckten Wechselln anzutreten
und Hoffnungen zu prolongieren, die doch nie eingelöst
werden.¹²

The other French play to receive its German premiere in München was Giraudoux's Der trojanische Krieg wird nicht stattfinden. This subsequently much performed investigation into the necessity for war set in classical Troy was first performed at the Münchner Kammerspiele on 16 April 1946 directed by Martin Hellberg. Unlike the Bayerisches Staatsschauspiel whose Residenztheater had been destroyed in 1943,

the home of the Kammerspiele at the art nouveau Schauspielhaus had been spared and provided reasonable conditions for performance.

Amongst the plays premiered in the Western Zones there are those such as Antigone which might be broadly described as "Antifa". Clearly, however, there was nothing like the same emphasis placed on this genre in the zonal premieres as there was in Berlin. In general the proportion of German plays was lower in the Zones while the proportion of foreign, especially French and American plays was higher. With regard to the first post-war season at least, this was the case in each of the Zones so that it can be seen that Berlin had taken on an exceptional role from the very beginning.

It might be claimed that the 1945-1946 season was not representative since theatres opened their doors at various junctures during the year and many texts were not yet available, notwithstanding the efforts of certain dedicated theatre officers who spent their leave in Switzerland and elsewhere trying to obtain texts and performing rights.¹³ Thus it is illuminating to look in some detail at the following season, too, during which a certain amount of consolidation could be observed and during which no less than thirty-eight major German premieres took place.

The reason for the considerable increase in the number of major premieres was that, despite the chaotic conditions which still prevailed, more than a year had passed since the end of the war and gradually texts were becoming available through more orthodox channels. This fact is adequately illustrated by the proportion of foreign plays in relation to the total number of German premieres listed for the season: twenty-five out of thirty-eight (twenty-six if Horváth were to be considered as foreign), that is 65.8 percent.

In relation to the total number of major German premieres listed, the number staged in Berlin fell drastically. The nine major Berlin premieres were composed of three German, four American and two Russian plays, and just as in the previous season, a particular emphasis on "Antifa" can be discovered. All three German plays fall into this category: H. J. Rehfisch's Quell der Verheißung, a weak play condemned by a variety of critics¹⁴ about a settlement of Jewish refugees from fascism in Palastine; Ernst Toller's Pastor Hall about the fate of a pastor who is interned in a concentration camp and Franz Werfel's "Komödie einer Tragödie" Jacobowsky und der Oberst which revolves around the flight from the Nazis of a Jew and a Polish major through war-torn France. Interestingly, one of the American plays also belongs in this category: Lilian Hellman's Auf der anderen Seite, written in America in 1941, about a German-American family engaged in resistance to Hitler, and premiered at the Hebbel-Theater in February 1947 under the direction of Karl Heinz Martin.

Apart from the extremely popular and much praised Holm and Abbot comedy Drei Mann auf einem Pferd the other two American plays to be performed for the first time in Berlin during this season caused some dissension. One was also a comedy: Rose Franken's Claudia, first performed at the Kammerspiele of Max Reinhardts Deutsches Theater on 4 July 1947 directed by Arthur Maria Rabenalt and dismissed by critics like Paul Rilla as "Bonbon-Schmelz".¹⁵ Such reactions were fairly harmless by comparison with the reception of the other American play Eine Familie, a dramatization of the story of Christ by Leonore Coffee and William Joyce Cowen in which - due to American stage convention - Christ does not actually appear. Mary is the main character and she was played by Käthe Dorsch at the

German premiere directed by Paul Bildt at Max Reinhardts Deutsches Theater. Reviews of the production were damning despite praise for Käthe Dorsch. Dr. Wolfgang Schimmig wrote:

Die Jesumutter Maria im Mittelpunkt einer bis zur Banalität simplifizierten Familienhandlung. Derartiges mit der verlangten Naivität und Heilsarmee-gläubigkeit hinzunehmen, fehlt uns in Europa eine wichtige Voraussetzung der amerikanischen Mentalität, die dortige Unbeschwertheit durch zwei Jahrtausende abendländischer Problematik und Glaubensgeschichte.¹⁶

While these comments reveal as much about German feelings of cultural superiority over the Americans as about the play itself, Eine Familie was doomed to failure in Germany on religious grounds, too. The play was struck off the list of prospective productions in Mannheim at the request of Oberbürgermeister Braun because 'das Stück (...) bagatellisiert den religiösen Stoff für deutsche Begriffe, wenn auch mit der guten Absicht seiner Popularisierung'.¹⁷

Of the two Russian plays listed for this season - Jewgenij Schwarz's "Märchenkomödie für Erwachsene" Der Schatten, consumately directed by Gustaf Gründgens at Max Reinhardts Deutsches Theater on 3 April 1947, and Konstantin Simonow's Die russische Frage - the latter caused considerably more consternation than the American plays as has been noted elsewhere. Premiered at the same theatre as Der Schatten on 3 May 1947 under the direction of Falk Harnack, Die russische Frage heralded the end of political peace between the Allies in the Berlin theatre. Reactions to the play were determined by political belief with the critics of the Left defending the production. Paul Rilla, for example, wrote:

Was er kritisiert, das ist nicht Amerika, das sind die Friedensstörer in jedem Land (...)
Wer nicht spürt, wie fern diese Sprache in jedem Satz und jedem Wort von spekulativer Absicht ist, wie ehrlich und ungeschwollen von Bedeutung sie dem Thema sich nähert, mit dem soll nicht diskutiert werden.¹⁸

By contrast, the liberal critic Friedrich Luft referred to it as 'ein eifernd antiamerikanisches Tendenzstück, und ein miserables dazu'.¹⁹ How innocent or tendencious the story of the American reporter Smith who refuses to toe the newspaper-owner's line on Russia really was, is difficult to establish and of no particular relevance to this account. What was important was that from this time on no play produced in Berlin was free from political bias and a political battle was fought in the theatre. Many "Western" journalists, that is those working for newspapers licensed by the Western powers, boycotted Russian Sector and Zone performances and vice versa.

That such drastic reactions should be possible emphasizes the special role played by Berlin and the even more special role of the theatre within the city. The proximity of the Allies in Berlin had allowed a cultural interchange, however closely monitored, which was not possible in the Zones because movement between the Zones was much more limited, and in Berlin, to a much greater extent than elsewhere, politics were cultural politics.

Nevertheless, by the 1946-1947 season the political value of the theatre as an instrument for re-education was beginning to be recognized in the Zones, too, in particular by the Americans. Of the twenty-five major foreign plays which received their German premieres during this season, nineteen were first performed in the

Zones although there was only one premiere in the French Zone, four in the British and a total of fourteen in the American Zone. By comparison with the distribution throughout the Zones in the 1945-1946 season the actual number of major German premieres of foreign plays in the French Zone remained stable at one, in the British Zone it increased from two to four while in the American Zone it went up from eight to fourteen. As a proportion, however, in relation to the total number of foreign plays first performed in the two seasons, the proportion in the French Zone dropped from 7.1% to 4%, the proportion in the British Zone increased slightly from 14.3% to 16% while the proportion in the American Zone barely dropped from 57.1% to 56%.

Simply taking the figures for the distribution of premieres throughout the Zones does not provide evidence for the claim that theatre was being recognized as a vehicle for re-education. Much more significant are the figures covering the countries of origin of the foreign plays premiered in the Zones. The nineteen plays comprise three British, one Swiss, four French and eleven American plays. Both the Swiss play (Frisch's Nun singen sie wieder) as well as all three British plays and one of the French plays (Giraudoux's Undine) were premiered in the American Zone. The other three French plays were premiered in the British Zone whereas, with but two exceptions (Lavery's Monsignoren große Stunde in Konstanz and O'Neill's Trauer muß Elektra tragen which was first performed in the American Zone just one day after the German premiere in the British Zone), all the American plays were first performed in the American Zone of Germany. These statistics reflect a significant change by comparison with 1945-1946. During that season four of the five French plays were

premiered in the American Zone as were both the British plays while but a single one of the American plays (O'Neill's O Wildnis!) was first performed in the American Zone. Thus while no remarkable changes took place in the zonal distribution of British premieres, there was a shift in French premieres from the American to the British Zone and an increase from 25% to 81.8% in the number of American premieres put on in the American Zone. Furthermore, it is worth noting that of the nine plays making up the 81.8%, eight could be found in the list of plays (see Table III) especially selected for distribution in Germany by the Film, Theater and Music Branch of ICD. Three of the four American plays premiered in Berlin, Claudia, Eine Familie and Drei Mann auf einem Pferd, were also included in this list. Thus in terms of premieres it can be seen that during the 1946-1947 season the Americans flooded their Zone with approved works. This is further reflected by the figures for distribution.

Distribution remained broad in all the Zones: no outstanding theatre centre automatically commanding the right to stage premieres - German or foreign - had emerged at this time. In the 1945-1946 season major German premieres in the British Zone only took place in Hamburg. One season later premieres could be seen in Bielefeld, Hamburg, Köln, and Wuppertal. In the French Zone, which was by far the smallest with the least number of theatres, the diversity was not so great: Konstanz was the only venue for premieres during this season. The dispersion of premieres throughout the American Zone observed in the first post-war season was maintained and increased in 1946-1947. German premieres were held in Augsburg, Bremen, Gießen, Heidelberg, Karlsruhe, Kassel, Mannheim, München and Stuttgart.

In considering which types of plays received their premieres during this season it is revealed yet again that the tendency towards specifically political and "Antifa" plays was not so pronounced in the Zones as in Berlin. Indeed, the only German play which could strictly be referred to as "Antifa" was Herrmann Mostar's Der Zimmerherr, an amusing satire on the take-over of Europe by Hitler symbolized by the tenant of a room in Europastraße 10, Herr Huber, gradually taking over the whole house. The Swiss play in the list, Max Frisch's Nun singen sie wieder, also belongs in this category. His famous "Versuch eines Requiems" was first produced in Germany at the Münchner Kammerspiele on 19 December 1946 directed by Bruno Hübner. Other plays in the list might be described as political without being directly "Antifa": Babel, Weisenborn's critique of the extremes of capitalism set in South America which was premiered in Konstanz or Clifford Odets's Die das Leben ehren concerning the struggles of a working-class Jewish family in New York, produced, as has been noted, by an oversight at the Bremer Kammerspiele in 1947, are both examples.

In fact, the plays first produced in the Zones represented a wide variety of genres. There were boulevard melodramas like Cocteau's Die Schreibmaschine and thrillers such as Hans Schweikart's Nebel or J. B. Priestley's socially-critical Ein Inspektor kommt, first produced in Hamburg, Karlsruhe and Bremen respectively. Bremen saw the production of four major German premieres in the 1946-1947 season, three at the Kammerspiele and one at the Künstler-theater. Once again personalities were involved in the availability of plays to be premiered. Bremen and Bremerhaven were American enclaves in the British Zone allowing the Americans access to the North Sea.

In charge of theatre and music for ICD in Bremen was Frederic Mellinger, formerly Friedrich Mellinger and, in the 1920s, an associate of Karl Heinz Martin at the political theatre Tribüne in Berlin. His presence in Bremen, like that of Benno D. Frank in Berlin or Walter Behr in München, contributed considerably to the early lead taken by the city in hosting premieres.

The genre of religious plays first heralded by Emmet Lavery's Die erste Legion was continued and extended during this season, too. Another Lavery play, Monsignorens große Stunde, set in the Vatican and revolving around the question of world peace, was premiered in Konstanz directed by Stefan Dahlen and Claudel's Der seidene Schuh, which is steeped in Claudel's characteristic Catholicism, received its German premiere in Köln.

Modern re-workings of classic dramas were also still to be found amongst the premieres. In the 1945-1946 season it had been Anouilh's Antigone in Darmstadt, Eurydike in Frankfurt and Giraudoux's Trojanischer Krieg in München. In 1946-1947 O'Neill's highly successful re-enactment of the Oresteia set in New England after the Civil War, Trauer muß Elektra tragen was premiered on 11 April 1947 at the Deutsches Schauspielhaus Hamburg directed by Alfred Noller. On 12 April the play appeared in Frankfurt directed by Karlheinz Stroux, a performance referred to by some commentators as the German premiere.²⁰

Several other American plays which would prove to be extremely popular were also premiered during this season, two of them in Heidelberg: John van Druten's romantic comedy Das Lied der Taube and Paul Osborn's comedy Galgenfrist or Der Tod im Apfelbaum. Based on an old legend

this modern psychologized version elicited mixed reactions from the critics due to the fact that the happy ending, through which the grandfather and grandson are able to remain united and the latter avoids the fate of being left alone with a dreadful aunt, is death. Although by no means a pessimistic piece, death being presented as a continuation of life, some commentators doubted whether it was suitable material for Germany in 1946. Herbert Jhering, for example, noted with reference to this and Eine Familie: 'Beide für Amerika wichtig und aufschlußreich, für uns die Kenntniss bereichernd, aber der eigenen Entwicklung entgegenstehend'.²¹ Similarly lacking in unanimity were the reactions to Elmer Rice's Expressionist Die Rechenmaschine, first performed in Karlsruhe directed by a young director, Peter Frank. Objections were taken less to the specific contents of the play, which are concerned with the ever-increasing automization of man personified by Mr. Zero, than to the fact that it belonged to that contentious group of plays featuring interaction between the living and the dead. For the commentators of the Left in particular, "magischer Realismus" was highly suspect because they felt it deflected attention from man's concrete social problems in the present.

Thus the spectrum of plays first produced in the Western Zones during the 1946-1947 season was very broad with clear American domination not only with regard to the number of American plays premiered but above all the number of premieres which took place in the American Zone. The movement away from Berlin was confirmed. In conclusion, however, it must be inferred that it was a freak year. The exceptional number of premieres, the chaotic conditions which still existed and the

continued (but gradually ceasing) presence of leading theatre personalities at previously undistinguished houses combined to create a fascinating but exceptional theatre season.

Before coming to look briefly at the third post-war season of German premieres, a brief account should be given of the movement of theatre people around the country since this influenced where plays were premiered and how trends developed. It has been seen that in 1945 leading theatre personalities were to be found throughout the Zones and Berlin and that they immediately started to act and direct wherever they happened to be. Very few of them stayed there. The lure of the acknowledged houses and theatre centres would prove too great and there were also those who moved for political reasons, because they specifically did or did not wish to live and work in the Russian Zone. Someone who did not move was Ida Ehre. She is still to be found at the Hamburger Kammerspiele today although, as she notes in her autobiography, over the years she was offered the post of "Intendant" ranging from the Schauspielhaus in Hamburg to the Volksbühne Berlin and the municipal theatres in Düsseldorf and Essen.²² But Ida Ehre is something of an exception. Some examples of mobility have already been mentioned: Wolfgang Langhoff only spent one season in Düsseldorf before moving on to Berlin; Karlheinz Stroux took one season to make his way from Heidelberg via Darmstadt to Wiesbaden; Horst van Diemen spent a single season in Konstanz before going to Dresden. Any number of examples might be cited: Erich Ponto spent 1945-1946 in Dresden but then moved to Stuttgart; Erich Engel remained in München for two seasons before heading for Berlin; Richard Dornseiff spent two seasons in Bremen

prior to moving to Mannheim. The most common move was from the provinces to the cities, not only amongst directors but amongst actors, too. Lola Müthel, for example, went from Konstanz to Berlin while Rudolf Fernau progressed from Stuttgart via Bremen and Tübingen to München.

Despite such tendencies, the movement away from Berlin discerned in the distribution of premieres can be seen in the movements of theatre people, too. Two very prominent theatre practitioners left Berlin, one rather earlier than the other. The second to go was the brilliant but idiosyncratic and rather cantankerous director Jürgen Fehling who might have succeeded Karl Heinz Martin as "Intendant" of the Hebbel-Theater in 1948 had the ensemble been prepared to accept him. They were not and he moved to München. The greatest loss to Berlin, by which, in the words of Henning Rischbieter, the city lost its chance 'noch einmal wie in der Vergangenheit die Theatermetropole des Reiches zu sein',²³ occurred somewhat earlier: it was Gustaf Gründgens's decision, after his extended internment and denazification, to move from Berlin to Düsseldorf to take up the post vacated by Wolfgang Langhoff. Düsseldorf was Gründgens's place of birth and he became "Generalintendant" of the municipal theatres. As an actor and director he maintained an agreement with Langhoff - now "Intendant" of Max Reinhardts Deutsches Theater - to make some guest appearances but in March 1947 he wrote to the Soviet theatre officer Major Mosjakow:

Ich habe mich entschlossen, dem Angebot meiner Vaterstadt zu folgen (...) so gehe ich lieber für den Rest der mir verbliebenen Zeit an ein

kleineres Theater, das meinem Bedürfnis und meiner eigentlichen Begabung, nämlich dem Theater in seiner Gesamtheit zu dienen, entgegenkommt, als daß ich in der mir nicht liegenden Art von beispielsweise Hans Albers oder Käthe Dorsch als Nutznießer meiner eigenen Popularität im Land herumreise, ohne eine Stelle zu haben, an der ich auf meine Art am Wiederaufbau des deutschen Theaterlebens mitarbeiten kann.²⁴

Here Gründgens touches on another phenomenon of the time. A number of prominent actors refrained from binding themselves to any one house and moved around giving guest appearances. This habit was frowned upon especially by left-wing critics because it encouraged stardom and hindered the creation of good ensembles. The phenomenon was particularly common in Berlin amongst those who had enjoyed popularity before 1945.

In view of the high degree of movement, especially towards the cities, it is hardly surprising that the statistics for premieres in the 1947-1948 season look different. A glance at Table XI reveals that the number of places where German premieres were held was reduced considerably, indicating that the consolidation observed in the 1946-1947 season had intensified. The number of premieres was also greatly reduced following the boom in the preceding season. In 1947-1948 there were twenty-two major German premieres of national and international works, only just over half the number in 1946-1947. The distribution also changed. There were ten premieres of German works, eight French and two British, one American and one Spanish. Thus the proportion of German plays premiered rose from 34.2% (13:38) in 1946-1947 to 45.5% (10:22) in 1947-1948 while that of American plays dropped significantly from 39.5% (15:38) to 4.5% (1:22). The increase in the proportion of British plays was relatively small (7.9% to 9%)

while in actual terms the number fell from 3:38 in 1946-1947 to 2:22 in 1947-1948. The proportion of French plays increased very considerably from 10.5% (4:38) in 1946-1947 to 36.5% (8:22) in 1947-1948.

By the third post-war season most of the previously unpremiered American works had already been performed. The flow of French plays on the other hand was somewhat more evenly distributed over the three seasons with five premieres in 1945-1946, four in 1946-1947 and eight in 1947-1948. The number of British plays remained constantly low; British plays were only premiered in any quantities at the end of the Forties, beginning of the Fifties with the works of T. S. Eliot, Christopher Fry and Terence Rattigan. The actual number of German plays premiered over the three seasons remained relatively stable although there was a noticeable drop in 1947-1948 (14:13:10). Just as in the case of American plays, a large percentage of German works had already been presented in the first two post-war seasons. Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that the Currency Reform fell within this season, suddenly changing theatres' financial positions and their ability to host premieres.

If greater consideration is given to the zonal distribution of premieres, the following picture emerges: ten plays were premiered in the American Zone, seven in the British, one in the French and five in Berlin although one play was first presented in two Zones on the same day (Mord im Dom in Köln and München).²⁵ The greatest degree of consolidation can be observed in the American Zone where, with the exception of the enclave Bremen, and a single premiere in Frankfurt, only two cities hosted premieres, München and Stuttgart. The

movement away from the provinces to acknowledged theatre centres was slightly less pronounced in the British Zone where premieres could still be seen at a number of different venues (Düsseldorf, Hamburg, Köln, Krefeld) although Hamburg, with two extremely important premieres (Borchert's Draußen vor der Tür and Zuckmayer's Des Teufels General) and four altogether, was gradually asserting itself as a leading theatre centre. With but one premiere (Salacrou's Die große Liebe in Tübingen) little can be surmised about trends in the French Zone beyond noting that the initial dominance of Konstanz waned in favour of Tübingen. This may well have been due to the fluctuation in personnel. Horst van Diemen had left Konstanz while Paul Rose of the famous Berlin theatre family whose Rose-Theater had been destroyed during the war, had become "Intendant" in Tübingen. In Berlin five major German premieres took place during this season, the smallest actual number of all three seasons. This decline is even more marked if it is remembered that two of these five plays (Hauptmann's Agamemnons Tod and Elektra) were presented as a double bill and might therefore be considered as one premiere.

It emerges quite clearly that, while the movement away from Berlin was maintained, the diversity noted in the first two post-war seasons was diminishing and, especially in the American Zone, theatre centres with the prerogative to stage premieres had formed. The greater the degree of normalization in conditions, the greater the tendency to revert to the habits of former years and these did not include premieres at provincial houses up and down the country. Centres which seemed to be emerging in the immediate post-war seasons, such as Konstanz, returned to their former provincial roles even before the Currency Reform forced them to reconsider their positions.

To what extent this was true of provincial theatres in general can be examined in the context of repertoire at the theatres selected. It is certainly true that such tendencies can be recognized in the landscape of post-war German premieres.

Before analyzing the repertoires at these theatres some space should be devoted to the plays themselves which were premiered during the third post-war season, not only to complete the picture but also because a number of the plays will feature again in the discussion.

In Berlin "Antifa" was still an important element in the 1947-1948 premieres. On 30 January 1948 Brecht's Furcht und Elend des Dritten Reiches was first performed under the direction of Wolfgang Langhoff at the Deutsches Theater in the same month as Ferdinand Bruckner's Die Rassen. Bruckner's play, concerning the fate of a Jewish factory owner and his family set in the months immediately following Hitler's seizure of power, had been one of the first works of exiled writers to be premiered at the Schauspielhaus in Zürich. It was directed by Gustav Hartung and opened on 30 November 1933. In Berlin Die Rassen received its German premiere at the Theater am Schiffbauerdamm on 3 January 1948 directed by Erich Geiger. Even Gerhart Hauptmann's two one-act plays Agamemnons Tod and Elektra, premiered the previous September, were claimed in the programme notes to be an attempt 'mit den Dämonen der Hitlerzeit fertig zu werden'.²⁶ The only Berlin premiere not to fall into this category was Anouilh's Der Ball der Diebe, premiered at the Theater am Kurfürstendamm directed by Carl Heinz Schroth. Critical reaction to Anouilh's play, revolving around a trio of robbers whose intention of relieving a group of wealthy English aristocrats of their valuables is complicated when one of them falls in love with one of their victims and confesses all, was

mixed. Like Der Passagier ohne Gepäck it was thought to be too self-consciously theatrical, on top of which the production was accused of lacking the subtle delicacy and charm of Anouilh's original. Paul Rilla, for example, spoke of making 'aus einer ironischen Schwebung ein sentimentaler Fettfleck' and continued, 'was Anouilh sonst in die Luft gezaubert hat, holt die Aufführung mit einem Plumps auf die Bretter zurück'.²⁷

Two of the most significant premieres of the post-war years took place during this season, not in Berlin but both in Hamburg and both in November 1947: Carl Zuckmayer's Des Teufels General at the Deutsches Schauspielhaus directed by Friedrich Brandenburg on 8 November and Wolfgang Borchert's Draußen vor der Tür at the Kammerspiele directed by Wolfgang Liebeneiner on 21 November. Once again personalities played a role in the choice of the Kammerspiele. In her autobiography Ida Ehre notes:

Ich gehörte zum Verwaltungsrat des damaligen NWDR (...), und wir bekamen eines Tages ein Hörspiel auf den Tisch, das hieß Draußen vor der Tür. Nach der Lektüre wußte ich, daß das ein ideales Stück für die Bühne wäre, ein Thema, das uns alle noch so hautnah anging. Aber der Autor (...) war schwer krank. In unzähligen Gesprächen konnten wir Borchert überzeugen, sich noch einmal dranzusetzen. Wir halfen ihm bei der szenischen Umsetzung (...) Wolfgang Borchert hat die Uraufführung nicht mehr erlebt, er starb ganz kurz vor der Premiere. Aber er starb in dem Bewußtsein, daß sein Stück zur Aufführung kommen würde.²⁸

Both plays will be discussed at length elsewhere. The other Hamburg premieres of the season were Hans Henny Jahn's Armut, Reichtum, Mensch und Tier which was first performed at the Deutsches Schauspielhaus

on 25 June 1948, and Priestley's Familie Professor Linden which came out at the Junge Bühne on 23 January 1948. Jahn's tragic love story of a man tricked by the formidable Anna out of marrying the diffident Sophia whom he really loves and who is expecting his child, is set in the mountains of Norway amongst trolls, elves, and spirits.

Just as in the case of Ida Ehre and Draußen vor der Tür, the reason why Sartre's Die Fliegen could first be seen in German in Düsseldorf was the presence of Gustaf Gründgens. He played Orest and directed a distinguished cast including Marianne Hoppe and Elisabeth Flickenschildt, opening on 7 November 1947. It was not actually the first production of the play in Germany - it had been put on in French in Saarbrücken and Baden-Baden by the Compagnie des Dix directed by Claude Martin in June of the same year - but it was the first of only two German productions of the play to be staged either in this season or, indeed, for the next thirteen years.²⁹ The other was Jürgen Fehling's Hebbel-Theater production of 7 January 1948 although Gründgens did take his version to the Hamburger Kammerspiele as part of an exchange through which Ida Ehre brought Euripides's/Werfel's Die Troerinnen to Düsseldorf.

Die Fliegen, was one of a number of "Antifa" plays to be premiered outside Berlin during this season although not the only one by a non-German author. Camus's Caligula, first performed in Stuttgart on 29 November 1947 directed by Helmuth Henrichs, was usually interpreted as anti-fascist in its portrayal of the necessity for resistance to tyranny. Also in Stuttgart: the German premiere of Ferdinand Bruckner's Heroische Komödie on 29 January 1948 directed by Paul Hoffmann. This "Antifa"

play revolves around resistance to dictatorship in the shape of Madame de Staël's resistance to Napoleon. The third Stuttgart premiere of the season was not an anti-fascist play but Lorca's tragic love story Bluthochzeit (19 October 1947 directed by Hermine Körner).

Anti-war also describes André Obey's Vom Jenseits zurück, the original title of which - Revenu de L'Etoile - evokes associations with the Place de L'Etoile in Paris with its tomb of the unknown soldier. It is a dream play in which a tired and lonely old woman in a world at war reviews her life with its sadness, happiness, and expectations, all of which have now been wiped out by war. The German premiere took place on 13 March 1948 at the Kleines Theater am Zoo in Frankfurt.

Both the major München premieres of the 1947-1948 season were of French plays: Anouilh's Einladung aufs Schloß and Giraudoux's Die Irre von Chaillot. Anouilh's carefully composed comedy of errors about a pair of identical twins of very differing character and their eventual coupling with the other's respective fiancée was put on at the Bayerisches Staatsschauspiel directed by Fritz Peter Buch. Giraudoux's modern fairy-tale of the old woman who disposes of a group of evil speculators with the aid of down-and-outs in post-war Paris was first produced at the Kammerspiele by Hans Schweikart on 27 July 1948 with Maria Koppenhöfer as the madwoman.

Bremen also maintained its role as a venue for German premieres. During this season the plays produced belonged in the problematic

category "entertainment" with Cocteau's regal murder thriller Der Doppeladler, Nebhut's Der Teufel stellt Monsieur Darcy ein Bein and Lindsay's and Crouse's re-working of Clarence Day's domestic comedy Der Herr im Haus.

Once again it can be seen that there was a broad spectrum of drama premiered throughout the Zones: "Antifa", modern re-workings of classical themes, domestic comedy, thrillers and, as in the previous two seasons, a religiously-inspired play with T. S. Eliot's Mord im Dom in Köln and München.

While the supremacy of Berlin had certainly been shaken by 1948 it should not be overlooked that the supremacy of Zürich had not. A number of the plays listed here had been premiered in German at the Schauspielhaus Zürich before being performed in the Western Zones of Germany, and this was not only true for those premiered before May 1945. Die Irre von Chaillot, for example, was premiered in Zürich on 13 June 1946 directed by Leonard Steckel with Therese Giehse in the title role or Zuckmayer's Des Teufels General which was first performed on 12 December 1946 directed by Heinz Hilpert with Gustav Knuth as General Harras. The situation in Zürich was not, of course, comparable either with Berlin or any other city in Germany.

Premieres are, however, only part of the evidence. It is important to study whole repertoires to discover whether the trends discussed above were a more general feature of the post-war German theatre.

Repertoire

A number of the criteria which determined where plays received their German premieres also influenced which plays were chosen for performance at individual theatres: the Zone in which the theatre was situated, the type of theatre, the role played by the theatre traditionally, the character and beliefs of the "Intendant", "Dramaturg", and directors, and the availability of texts.

For the very first post-war season theatres were forced to look backwards for their repertoires. Although at least twenty-eight previously unperformed works were produced in the Western Zones and Berlin for the first time in 1945/46 (see Table IX), many were not premiered until the latter part of the season and could thus not be presented by the majority of the 143 theatres in existence during this season. Thornton Wilder's Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen, for example, which was premiered on 31 March 1946 in Darmstadt, was only put on by one other theatre during 1945/46: the Hebbel-Theater in Berlin on 5 July 1946 and even here under the same director, Karlheinz Stroux. A considerable number of productions would follow in 1946/47 as will be seen from the discussion of the play later. Something of an exception was Anouilh's Antigone which, although not premiered until 30 March 1946 in Darmstadt, was presented by at least seven other theatres in the Western Zones and Berlin during the same season.¹

The difficulty in obtaining new material was a feature common to each of the Zones as was the power constellation at theatres in relation to determining repertoires. In the majority of cases it was the "Intendant" of a theatre who was responsible for the choice of repertoire. "Intendanten" were

usually mature men (female "Intendanten" were extremely rare) who had spent their lives in the theatre and judged plays from practical experience. The amount of notice they took of their mostly younger colleagues the "Dramaturgen", whose job it actually was to plan repertoires, varied considerably. Immediately after the war, however, the "Dramaturgen" often had little say in what was chosen: their older colleagues did not take them seriously because their training was literary rather than practical. Like the younger drama critics they had had little opportunity to learn their trade and to recognize effective dramatic works even when they were not necessarily great pieces of literature. As one dramatist noted in an article entitled "Wer liest denn eigentlich unsere Stücke?" this led to a situation in which 'seine Empfehlungen schlägt der Direktor in den Wind, und was aufgeführt wird, nimmt der Direktor ohne oder gegen seine Empfehlung an'.² The consequences of this especially for new, unperformed works by unknown authors will be discussed later, here it is important to recognize the overriding supremacy of the "Intendant" in the selection process.

Since the other factors determining the choice of repertoire are more specific to the respective theatre I shall now examine the theatres chosen individually according to Zone, type, season and so on.

Each of the three theatres in the French Zone bears the title "Stadttheater" which does not, however, indicate that they all belong in the same category of theatre. Until the Currency Reform the Stadttheater Konstanz, although it was municipal property, was leased to the incumbent "Direktor" (1945-1947 Horst van Diemen;

1947-1948 Wolfgang Engels) on a commercial basis. It was therefore a private theatre serving the 40 000 inhabitants of Konstanz and the various small towns in the vicinity. The house had been built in 1891, refurbished in 1934 and held about 500 people. A subscription system existed with roughly 2000 members as well as a further 500 members who belonged to a union subscription scheme. Apart from its private status the main difference between Konstanz and the other two "Stadttheater" was that there was no resident opera company, it concentrated solely on drama.

The Stadttheater Trier presented drama, opera and operetta to the ca. 77 000 inhabitants of Trier itself and the many small towns in the area. As the theatre had been completely destroyed during the war, the "Treviris-Bau", which housed one large and one small hall seating 790 and 350 people respectively, was opened on 6 October 1945 as a provisional home for the company. Trier also ran a subscription scheme with union participation but could look for financial support to the Trier municipal authorities and the state government of Rheinland-Pfalz.

The Stadttheater Saarbrücken could also be assured of financial support although the situation here was rather different. During the first post-war season the Saarland was still an integral part of the French Zone. In December 1946 the French instituted a customs barrier which effectively separated the Saar area from the rest of the French Zone as a preliminary to integrating the Saar into France itself - a situation which would remain unresolved until the plebiscite of 1955 through which the Saarland eventually became the tenth "Land" in the Federal Republic of Germany on 1 January 1957. The Stadttheater

Saarbrücken received financial support from the municipal authorities and from the "Verwaltungskommission des Saargebietes" (roughly equivalent to a state government) in order to produce drama, opera, operetta and ballet for the 100 000 inhabitants of Saarbrücken and the surrounding areas. Here, too, there was a subscription system including a union membership of 2000. After a short period using a temporary stage, performances were held in the 1126-capacity theatre which had been built in 1937/38 and, although slightly damaged, was repaired after the war.

Tables X-XII present the repertoires for the first three post-war seasons at Konstanz, Trier and Saarbrücken although it should be noted that Trier did not open until 6 October 1945 and Saarbrücken only commenced performances on 9 May 1946. Due to the special political situation in the Saarland, the second season ran from 15 January 1947 to the end of September and the third season began on 9 October.

In 1945/46 (Table X) Konstanz managed to produce the astounding number of twenty-one plays including the German premieres of Die erste Legion and Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder. Apart from the actual number of productions, which is the highest figure for the season of any of the theatres examined here, the most remarkable feature is the strong emphasis on comedy ranging from Calderon's Dame Kobold of 1629 to Giraudoux's Amphitryon 38 of 1929. Including the literary cabaret Was auch immer geschieht more than two-thirds of the plays belong in this category and several of these might be described as the standard classic comedies of German theatre repertoire: Was ihr wollt, Weh dem, der lügt, Diener zweier Herren and so on. The German classics are well represented with three plays by Goethe including the only tragedy in the list,

Clavigo and one of the most frequently performed classic plays of the period, Iphigenie auf Tauris. Many theatres selected Iphigenie for the official re-opening³ because the play itself was a symbol of the truth and humanity they wished to make the ideals of the post-war theatre. In response to a questionnaire circulated by the Neue Zeitung in February 1948 a local newspaper critic cited the Konstanz Iphigenie with Lola Müthel in the title rôle as one of the major cultural events of the period.⁴

The two German premieres notwithstanding, the repertoire for the first post-war season in Konstanz presents a solid, unadventurous and rather eclectic choice of plays with no obvious thematic coherence. It is clearly the selection of a commercial theatre interested in attracting a traditional type of conservative municipal theatre audience. Commercial considerations explain not only the choice but also the number of productions, directed at people who had experienced none of the bombing and deprivation of the towns and cities; by comparison, life in Konstanz had continued as normal. The only potentially contentious play is Mutter Courage since even the previously unknown Erste Legion was a certain success in a part of the country where there was a specific demand for 'ein christliches Theater'; the CDU in particular actively campaigned for a theatre orientated towards Christianity in Konstanz.⁵ Although critical reaction to Brecht was favourable commentators do make references to 'leisen Widerspruch' within the audience which was inevitable as, politically, Konstanz was a stronghold of conservatism.⁶

A variety of European countries is represented by the plays chosen. The proportion of German works is fairly high while there is only one American play. In relation to the first post-war season this can be partly explained by the fact that there was no established tradition of American drama in Germany prior to 1933 so that in 1945 there is no pool of American works to draw on in the way a theatre might choose Shakespeare, Wilde, or Shaw from the British theatre repertoire or Racine, Molière etc. from the French. France, the occupying power, is the most frequently represented foreign country which is an indication both of influence and of a preference for the well-constructed comedies so common in French dramatic literature.

The repertoire was put together by the "Intendant" Horst van Diemen and his "Dramaturg" Wolfgang Engels. van Diemen came from Berlin which was a major problem in a small provincial town on Lake Constance. One faction claimed: 'Wir wollen hier keine Preussen'⁷ and indeed, although he prepared the repertoire for the next season, van Diemen left Konstanz well before the end of the 1946/47 season without a successor having been appointed. According to one commentator there was great dissatisfaction with the 1946/47 repertoire: van Diemen was accused of wanting to dictate and to perform all the major pieces of world dramatic literature whether he could cast them or not.⁸ Hamlet had been planned, for example, but was cancelled. The same commentator goes on to accuse him of having produced plays which provoked nationalist demonstrations almost requiring police intervention and of encouraging an elitist theatre which the ordinary working man could neither afford nor was interested in.

A visit to the theatre in Konstanz was expensive with tickets costing up to RM 10,- by comparison with RM 5,20 for the dearest ticket at the private Kammerschauspiele in Bonn. An examination of the repertoire for the second post-war season in Konstanz, however, does not provide evidence to substantiate all these accusations. The number of productions dropped by a third but still included one world and one German premiere: Weisenborn's Babel and Lavery's Monsignorens große Stunde. Both received critical acclaim and, at least on the first nights, audience acclaim, too, although the two works are totally different in character. The former is a huge stage event, analagous to its subtitle "Dramatische Historie um Glanz und Untergang eines Reichen dieser Erde in acht Bildern", the latter a low-key, largely static conversation piece. As in the previous season the classic comedies of traditional theatre repertoire are well represented with Ein Sommernachtstraum, Der Kirschgarten, Donna Diana, and Die Mitschuldigen as well as established dramas like Der Tor und der Tod and Candida. Both Ein Spiel von Tod und Liebe and Katharina Knie were the works of writers banned under National Socialism.

It would be difficult to describe these plays as an indiscriminate selection of world drama unsuited to Konstanz conditions; at most this might be said of Peer Gynt or Der Bogen des Odysseus. While no purpose is served by trying to produce plays without a suitable ensemble, it cannot be overlooked that the annihilating criticism of such attempts combined with the lack of welcome afforded to theatre people from other regions and their resulting flight to the cities, were factors contributing to Konstanz's gradual return to the status of a provincial house.

In 1946/47, too, most of the plays produced were European in origin with just one American and, surprisingly, only one French work. In June 1946 the "Konstanzer Kunstwochen" took place during which some new American plays were shown and a number of guest performances were given by French companies. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that no particular attempts had been made by this time to acquaint Konstanz audiences with works written in the preceding decade. The 1946/47 repertoire includes no Anouilh, no Giraudoux, nor Ardrey, Wilder, Kaiser, Wolf etc.

The third post-war season opened after considerable delay due to the absence of a "Direktor" under the provisional leadership of Wolfgang Engels. It was also the theatre's last season as a commercial venture: the Currency Reform brought the theatre down and it was reopened in 1948/49 as a municipal house under Heinz Hilpert.

Fourteen plays were produced during the 1947/48 season, none of them world or German premieres. Once again it is essentially a selection of popular works - all the classic plays were put on frequently at the time and were assured of success. But there is a difference to the preceding seasons in the proportion of new plays. While some of the more modern works were also standard productions such as Zum goldenen Anker, four plays are included from the category premiered after the war (see Table IX) and two of these were only premiered in the Western Zones during this season (Des Teufels General in Hamburg and Der Doppeladler in Bremen). Despite this fact it is not an experimental or even coherent selection. The majority of plays are light-weight, attractive to an audience wishing to be entertained. To a greater extent than in the two previous seasons it is a commercially-oriented programme. More than half the plays are

German, the others British and French and it is remarkable that not a single American play is included in the list since a total of twenty-two major American plays had been premiered in the Western Zones and Berlin over the three seasons, and three of these modern plays had been premiered in the American Zone.

During these three post-war seasons in Konstanz the emphasis in the repertoires is clearly on entertainment. With the exceptions of certain isolated works like Mutter Courage or Des Teufels General little attempt was made to confront the experiences of the preceding twelve years and even less to come to grips with the problems of the present.⁹ Despite this it is not a superficial programme but based on works from the canon of German theatre literature which might have been seen at any time before or since. It does not avoid moral or social issues but does not reveal an understanding of the theatre as a "moralische Anstalt" either. Furthermore, in the absence of all modern French and German exile drama, it could not be claimed that the Stadttheater Konstanz afforded its audiences the opportunity to catch up on developments outside the Reich. Such a repertoire must be seen as an indictment at the time. Finally, it should be noted that despite the preponderance of French plays in the first post-war season there is no indication in the repertoires of the influence of the occupying power nor of the theatre's preference for French drama. Overall there are no more French plays than British while by far the majority are German.

The first post-war season in Trier (Table XI) also included a majority of German works. The Stadttheater opened its doors on 6 October 1945 under "Intendant" Dr. Rudolf Hesse who was soon succeeded by Hans Roolf since Hesse still had to be vetted by the de-nazification authorities. He later returned to the theatre as "Oberspielleiter der Oper" and "Chefdramaturg" while Roolf became permanent "Intendant".

On 17 July 1946 a critic in the Trierer Volkszeitung noted: 'Es kann nicht das richtige sein, wenn von einem Spielplan gesagt wird: Genauso hätte er 1942 gespielt werden können'.¹⁰ This is a fair criticism of the first post-war season. Seven plays and two "Märchen"¹¹ were produced comprising one tragedy - once again, Goethe's Clavigo - two dramas, a comedy and three farces. None of the works was new to the German stage and they were certainly chosen because they were easily accessible, uncontroversial and in most cases supposed to be entertaining.

Complaints that the repertoire was so heavily weighted towards 'Schwank und Lustspiel'¹² were obviously taken seriously for the 1946/47 repertoire reveals a quite different selection. The ten plays and one "Märchen" cover both more classical and more serious works: Goethe's Urfaust is accompanied by Schiller's "bürgerliches Trauerspiel" Kabale und Liebe, Hebbel's tragedy Herodes und Mariamne and, as light relief, Shakespeare's Ein Sommernachtstraum. The first and last of these works had also been selected in Konstanz as had another Trier production of this season, Shaw's Candida. Clearly Trier was very dependent on Konstanz when creating its own repertoires. It is also worth mentioning that these productions came about under the most primitive conditions: the season had to be interrupted twice when the absence of coal for any form of heating forced the theatre to close its doors for two periods of four weeks.

In the Summer the Trier "Gesellschaft für Wissenschaft und Kunst" in cooperation with the French military government and the Stadttheater held a "Woche moderner Kunst" covering art, music and drama. Hofmannsthal's Jedermann was performed and, undoubtedly the most interesting production of the season, Giraudoux's Siegfried.

Giraudoux's dramatization of his own novel Siegried et le Limousin (1922), first produced by Louis Jouvet in Paris in 1928, is concerned with the problems of Franco-German rapprochement and identity personified by Siegfried, a French officer who, having lost his memory after being injured in the First World War, becomes a German and eventually returns to France in an attempt to fuse his two identities. The theatre's contribution to the June festival also included guest appearances by the Compagnie Noel Vincent with Molière's Les femmes savantes.

Although French drama was not over-represented in the 1946/47 repertoire a considerable number of guest performances were given by French companies such as the Théâtre National du Palais de Chaillot, Paris, which presented Racine's Britannicus in the open air in front of the Porta Nigra in June 1947. Furthermore, amateur groups like the society affiliated to the French Institute in Trier which performed Puget's Les jours heureux and Courteline's Monsieur Badin, contributed to acquainting Trier audiences with the works of their closest neighbour and occupying power. Such preference for French culture was accompanied by a noticeable lack of interest in American works which barely feature in the repertoire at all.

This situation did not change to any extent in the third post-war season either. In 1947/48 eleven plays were produced only one of which was American: following Konstanz's example Monsignores große Stunde was included; the rest of the repertoire is made up of German, British and French plays.

Whereas in 1945/46 the emphasis was placed on comedy and in 1946/47 on serious drama, in 1947/48 both types are represented equally. The choice also differs from the previous seasons in the reduced proportion of standard repertoire plays: Besuch am Abend, Kean, Frischer Wind aus Kanada, and Der Arme unter der Treppe do not feature elsewhere in the repertoires examined here and, with the exception of Henri Ghéon who was known as a writer of religious mystery plays, are by authors unknown today. There is only one German classic play, Don Carlos, and, two seasons after Konstanz, Was ihr wollt. In the third post-war season four plays were included which had been produced in Konstanz in the preceding two seasons whereas there is no indication that the Trier repertoire influenced what was selected in Konstanz.¹³

A development can be traced through the three seasons from a rather too light-weight, standard selection in 1945/46 via a rather too heavy-weight, standard selection in 1946/47 to a well-balanced but still not especially adventurous selection in 1947/48. It is a development which suggests a theatre trying very cautiously to feel its way into the present, taking no risks and waiting for confirmation from elsewhere before undertaking anything new. Although obviously influenced by Konstanz, only some characteristics are common to the two theatres. Common, and in Trier even more emphatic, is the failure to confront the problems of the present and the immediate past. Common, too, is the absence of American drama and, to a much greater degree than in Konstanz, of nearly all previously unperformed major works. Monsignorens große Stunde is the only major play to have been premiered in Germany in the post-war period. There is not a single work by Anouilh, Ardrey, Wilder, Priestley nor indeed by

Brecht, Weisenborn, Wolf or even Zuckmayer. Common, too, in relation to the repertoires themselves, is the absence of exceptional French influence or preference for drama from France. Nevertheless, it should be called to mind that the number of French guest performances achieved an influence greater than the repertoire of the Stadttheater would imply. France was so near; it was much easier to bring French productions to the French Zone than British productions to the British Zone let alone American productions to the American Zone. There was much less pressure on the theatres to produce the plays themselves.

Trier differed from Konstanz in that it had not adopted such a modern repertoire by 1948 nor were the three seasons overall as commercially oriented. By comparison Trier played but few of the traditional canon of comedies so prevalent in Konstanz. It is not a repertoire so obviously intending to please and yet, due to its disregard for really topical plays, it is not a repertoire strongly based on an understanding of the theatre as a "moralische Anstalt" either. It is unpretentious and conservative: the repertoire of a really provincial municipal theatre.

To be a "moralische Anstalt" was the objective of the Saarbrücken "Intendant" Dr. Willy Schüller for the Stadttheater Saarbrücken as he announced at the re-opening of the theatre on 9 May 1946. On this occasion Hofmannsthal's religious mystery play Das große Welttheater, also known as Das Salzburger große Welttheater and based on the seventeenth century mystery play by Calderon, was performed, a relatively unusual choice for the opening production.¹⁴

Seven plays were chosen for the 1945/46 season (Table XII) plus one "Märchen", and a series of French guest performances also took place. Apart from two farces, the classics are well represented with

Die Mitschuldigen and Die Geschwister as a double-bill and Tartüff. Gorki's Nachtsyl is also included in the first post-war repertoire; apart from Der Kirschgarten (Konstanz, 1946/47) this is the only Russian play to be produced by the theatres featured in the French Zone and one of the earliest post-war examples of a drama, whose main thrust is social criticism, being integrated into a Stadttheater-repertoire.

The 1945/46 season in Saarbrücken, which ran parallel to the beginning of the 1946/47 season elsewhere, bears less of the signs of a hastily improvised selection and more of a responsibly planned theatre programme. This impression is more than confirmed by the 1946/47 repertoire, comprising nine plays and a "Märchen". Once again a number of French guest performances took place including the Compagnie des Dix with Sartre's Les Mouches on 17 June 1947, nearly six months before the German premiere in Düsseldorf on 7 November of the same year. This repertoire is quite remarkable for its balance and variety. It covers three classical plays - two tragedies and one comedy - three standard comedy-farces, and three previously unknown dramas: Der Reisende ohne Gepäck and Professor Mamlock, both of which received their German premieres in 1946, and the world premiere of Klaus Stief's Der verlorene Sohn which is not mentioned anywhere else. Above and beyond this, it is the first season examined which reveals any thematic coherence, a number of the plays being related by the theme of selfishness, or acting purely in one's own interest. This is an element of Phädra's tragedy, of Clavigo's and clearly one of the main traits of Harpagon's character. Furthermore, it is one of the motifs forming the background to Gaston's dilemma in Anouilh's play although, as in Giraudoux's Siegfried, the main theme is identity.¹⁵ Similar motifs can also be discovered in Professor

Mamlock which will be discussed in detail later. Wolf's play is not only the first piece of "Antifa" literature to feature in the repertoires examined so far but also the first play to confront the experiences of the immediate past and especially the Jewish question.

Thus even after just two seasons the Saarbrücken repertoire is distinct from its neighbours in Konstanz and Trier. It is much more daring, more controversial and more modern and also reveals a greater proximity to France: three of the major productions of 1946/47 are of French works, the others are German. Not a single American or British play is included, not even Shakespeare.

The distribution changed slightly in 1947/48 when two of the eight plays performed were British or American: Der widerspenstigen Zähmung and Trauer muß Elektra tragen, although precisely half the plays for this season were French; only two plays were by German authors. Once again it is a much more exciting and adventurous choice than in Konstanz or Trier. The classics maintain a firm place with Kabale und Liebe and Tartüff supplemented by Der widerspenstigen Zähmung which could also be seen in Konstanz. The proportion of more modern comedies remains stable while another three plays feature from the list of works premiered in Germany after the war: Eurydike, Trauer muß Elektra tragen, and Draußen vor der Tür. Close thematic relationships are less apparent than in the previous season, the only obvious common theme being the consequences ensuing from human weakness.

Saarbrücken succeeded to a far greater extent than either Konstanz or Trier in developing repertoires which were in touch with the times: based on the classics but revealing a critical attitude towards

the present and the immediate past in the presentations of topical plays, especially Professor Mamlock and Draußen vor der Tür. To a much greater extent too, however, the influence of France can be discerned. Over the three seasons it is increasingly apparent, becoming dominant in 1947/48 when, apart from the French plays presented by the Stadttheater, a series of guest performances were given including Jean Marchant with Giraudoux's La Guerre de Troie n'aura pas lieu on 29 April 1948. Indeed, if there were a criticism to be made of those responsible for the Saarbrücken selection it would have to be that they had failed to acquaint their audiences with non-French foreign drama.

Despite the various differences between the three theatres in Konstanz, Trier, and Saarbrücken determined by type, place, personalities etc., certain common characteristics have been identified such as the pre-eminence of French drama in the French Zone achieved both by a high proportion of French works in the repertoire and a multiplicity of guest performances by French companies as well as a disdain for modern American works. In the following I shall examine the repertoires of theatres in the British Zone giving particular attention to the status of British drama as one feature of a multifaceted theatre-landscape.

The theatre in Bochum was known in Britain even before 1945 due to the fact that Bochum was the home of the German Shakespeare Society. But the theatre had finally been destroyed on 4 November 1944 and the company was now housed in the temporary, 600-seat "Theater im Park" which opened on 17 December 1945 with Grillparzer's Weh dem, der lügt. It was a municipal theatre, subsidized by the city which, at the time, had a population of ca. 260 000. The "Städtisches Orchester" also used the theatre but there were no resident opera, operetta or ballet companies.

In Bochum it was not the "Intendant" who was responsible for choosing the first post-war repertoire. Professor Dr. Saladin Schmitt, who had taken charge of the theatre shortly after the end of the First World War in 1919, had been staying in Baden-Baden in the French Zone when the war ended and could not get permission to travel north. He managed to get as far as the British Zone in October 1945 when a British officer allowed him to travel on a hospital train after he had introduced himself as Dr. Saladin Schmitt "Präsident der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft", but his health prevented him from actually returning to Bochum until Spring 1946. In the meantime Schmitt's long-standing associate Willi Busch had been granted a license to open a theatre in May 1945 and, together with the "Dramaturg" and "Spielleiter" Dr. Horst Gnekow, had created an ensemble and selected a repertoire. Gnekow later recalled:

Willi Busch fühlte sich von Anfang seiner Beauftragung an nur als 'Platzhalter' des verehrten Chefs und Freundes und tat jeden Schritt in seinem Sinne. Vor allem versuchte er, die alten 'Saladianer' wieder nach Bochum zu ziehen.¹⁶

Continuing as Schmitt would have done himself meant above all basing the repertoire soundly on classical works: the German "Klassik" and "Nachklassik" on the one hand and the comparable classic works of other nations - especially Shakespeare - on the other. It also meant presenting these works so that all the varying interests in the theatre were satisfied. According to Schmitt himself, Northern Germans preferred 'den gedanklichen Dichter (Typus Hebbel)' while Southern Germans favoured 'den Gestalter romantischen Überschwangs (Typus Grillparzer)'. He continues: 'Und wie diese Neigungen rein geographisch zu trennen sind, so sondern sie sich auch nach Konfession und sozialer Stellung, ja auch nach Partei und politischer Anschauung. Dabei müssen alle diese Wünsche irgendwie berücksichtigt werden'.¹⁷

The danger inherent in these ideas is that they lead to a totally unpolitical theatre, not even related to the times. It is not, however, Schmitt's ideas which are under consideration here but their influence on Bochum in 1945 and this influence was considerable. Gnekow himself only stayed in Bochum for two seasons after which he moved to Kiel; Busch remained until 1948, and Schmitt until a combination of age, ill-health and the final questioning of his influence made his retirement unavoidable in 1949.

I have described the background to the situation in Bochum in such detail because it is a classic example for reconstruction being equatable with restoration in the theatre. Not only were they the same people who were creating theatre before and after 1945, they were actively trying to create the same kind of theatre. Gnekow noted: 'Keinem deutschen Theaterleiter mit Ausnahme Saladin Schmitts war es vergönnt,

seine Bühne eine so lange Zeitspanne ungeachtet aller politischen Veränderungen unangefochten zu führen'.¹⁸ Gnekow's comment is intended as a compliment but it clearly reveals that Bochum conceived of itself as a cultural institution devoted to supposedly timeless classic works, independent of political developments and thus very far removed from Schiller's conception of theatre as a "moralische Anstalt". And it is worth noting that during the first three seasons not a single play by Schiller was included in the repertoires (Table XIII).

In order not to create a false impression it should be emphasized that, although not strictly falling within the temporal framework of this investigation, the Bochum restoration was not a lasting or viable undertaking. Towards the end of Schmitt's era, the number of voices calling for 'eine Umstellung des Spielplans, einen stärkeren Anteil der Gegenwartsdramen und des Experimentiertheaters' and rejecting 'den traditions-gesättigten, nicht mehr gültig geformten Inszenierungsstil der Bochumer Klassikerwiedergaben',¹⁹ became ever more numerous and influential. Schmitt's theatre became untenable, his exit from the scene inevitable.

It is revealing to examine the Bochum repertoires in the light of these considerations. In the first post-war season the sixteen plays and one "Märchen" are, with one exception, classical or standard repertoire works. The exception is Spoerl's comedy Die weiße Weste which is the only play premiered after the war to be selected this season. According to genre the comedies just achieve a majority especially if Die Ratten, which Hauptmann described as a "Berliner Tragi-Komödie", is included in this group. Both the classic tragedies, Sappho and Hamlet, as well as Iphigenie were directed by Schmitt himself, a fact indicating not only his preference for classical large-scale works but also for continuity. He had directed each of these works at various times during the preceding twelve years.

Bochum is only the fourth theatre to be considered and yet already a trend is emerging: the same classic works feature at varying types of theatres and in very different geographical locations. Apart from Sappho each of the classical plays has appeared at least once.²⁰ Yet Bochum was not situated in the largely unscathed countryside around Konstanz or Trier in the French Zone but in the industrial heartland of the British-controlled Ruhr area, and sixty percent of the city had been destroyed during the war.

Differences to the repertoires discussed so far can be discovered in the distribution of countries of origin. The majority of classical works are German, but whereas in the French Zone French comedies are an important element in the programmes, in 1945/46 in Bochum there is not a single French comedy but three British comedies: Charleys Tante, Intimitäten and Bunbury. This proportion is high even accepting that Brandon Thomas's 1892 farce defied any national boundaries and was performed everywhere. No American plays are included in the selection.

This situation did not change in 1946/47 although it could not be claimed either that the slight preference for British works was maintained. Apart from Shakespeare the only British author featured during this season is Shaw with Frau Warrens Gewerbe. One or two more modern French works could be seen including the first Anouilh to be presented in Bochum, Der Reisende ohne Gepäck. Except for Ostrowskij's Russian comedy Der Wald all the other works chosen are German.

Altogether the 1946/47 repertoire comprises nineteen plays and one "Märchen", four of them productions carried over from the previous season. The most striking point about this selection is the emphasis placed on tragedy. In addition to Hamlet and Sappho there are Grillparzer's Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen (a Hero and Leander tragedy), Hebbel's Gyges und sein Ring and Hauptmann's monumental drama Florian Geyer

which is subtitled "Die Tragödie des Bauernkrieges" and has a cast of fifty. It is worth noting the particular influence of Saladin Schmitt on this selection who by this time had once again become permanent "Intendant" in Bochum. With the exception of the Grillparzer he directed all the classical plays and all the tragedies himself,²¹ the only addition being Das Glas Wasser which, however, also enjoyed a status comparable to the comedies of Shakespeare or Molière. Furthermore, apart from Scribe's play, all these works had been produced in Bochum during the previous twelve years, as had Hauptmann's comedy Der Biberpelz.

It would be incorrect to accuse the 1946/47 repertoire of being unbalanced. The large number of tragedies is certainly juxtaposed with comedies but it is undoubtedly a heavy programme, very literary and intellectual with few concessions to modernity and no attempts to tackle the problems of the present or the immediate past. It was only by being so uncontroversial that Schmitt could remain "Intendant" in Bochum for such a long and varied time but discontent was growing and began to make itself manifest in the third post-war selection of plays.

In 1947/48 twenty plays and one "Märchen" were produced. The influence of Schmitt is still discernible in the classics: including Richard III and Wie es Euch gefällt carried over from 1946/47, four Shakespeare plays were performed, all directed by Schmitt, as were Hebbel's tragedy Judith, Tolstoi's monumental tragic drama Macht der Finsternis and Shaw's Der Teufelsschüler. Particularly interesting amongst this group of plays is Judith since the major antagonists, Judith and Holofernes, are representatives not only of individual fates and exceptional female and male personalities but also, as Hebbel noted, 'Judith ist der schwindelnde Gipfelpunkt des Judentums (...) Holofernes ist das sich überstürzende Heidentum'.²² Thus following Nathan in the first post-war season another of the major works proscribed under Hitler for its

sympathetic portrayal of the Jews was re-introduced into the repertoire.

Examining the plays from the 1947/48 selection not mentioned so far, two very surprising points emerge. The first concerns modernity, the second obscurity. Leaving aside Molnár's comedy Olympia which was first produced in 1928, four of the plays can be found in the list of works (Table XI) premiered during the first three post-war seasons: Der Doppeladler, Vom Jenseits zurück, Trauer muß Elektra tragen, and Der Tod im Apfelbaum, and a further two are world premieres: Hesse's Frau Bettine and Jüngst's Die Witwe von Gerona. This means a total of at least six modern works out of twenty, four of them directed by Wolfgang von Stas who had also been responsible for the Anouilh in the previous season and the Spoerl in 1945/46. By comparison with these two seasons the number of modern works is astounding. But it is also difficult to ascertain precisely how many modern plays there really are amongst this selection due to the obscurity of several. The two world premieres no longer feature in repertoires and there is no evidence for their having been produced by other companies at the time.²³ On top of this, however, there are two other plays in the 1947/48 repertoire which are just as unknown: Neubert's Zweimal klingeln and Thierbach's Ein gut' Gewissen which, from the titles, were certainly comedies. The contrast to 1945/46 and 1946/47 is considerable when the repertoires were almost completely composed of standard or known plays. It reveals the beginning of a trend away from the total domination of the classics and is, in fact, the most experimental repertoire discussed so far.

The development in Bochum is different from that observed at the theatres examined in the French Zone. Elsewhere increasing normality was leading to increased consolidation and restoration. In Bochum restoration was the initial objective and increasing normality brought

about a greater degree of experimentation and openness for new works. This is not only reflected by the higher proportion of new works themselves but also the presence amongst these of two American and two French plays. Finally, it should be noted that there is no evidence of the influence of the occupying power on Bochum repertoires. In none of the seasons was there a British play more recent than Shaw nor, after a slight preference in 1945/46, is there any particular emphasis on British works at all: Shakespeare is, of course, synonymous with Bochum.

The Bühnen der Stadt Bonn were not so inextricably linked to any one author. What they shared with Bochum, however, was the loss of their theatre and a re-opening in provisional accommodation. Between them the two Bonn theatres featured here, the municipal Bühnen der Stadt and the private Kammerschauspiele (as of 1946/47 Neue Kammerspiele Bonn) probably used the most eccentric temporary houses of any theatres at the time. During the Summer of 1945 it was amongst the plaster copies of famous classical Greek and Roman statues in the "Akademisches Kunstmuseum", where a "musikalisch umrahmte Szene aus Faust" was presented on 13 July.²⁴ The Kammerschauspiele moved to the "Festsaal der Provinzial-Heil- und Pflegeanstalt" holding 350 people at the beginning of November while a number of performances were given in the halls of the "Museum König", a natural history museum where 'Blickfang für Künstler und Zuschauer (war) eine Giraffe, die munter aus luftiger Höhe auf das bunte Treiben herabsah'.²⁵ On 15 December 1945 the Bühnen der Stadt officially re-opened in the "Turnhalle der Clara-Schumann-Schule" with Nathan der Weise before eventually taking up semi-permanent residence in the 400-seat "Theater in der Loestraße". Both companies shared the "Metropol-Theater", a cinema with a capacity of 1100 which was used for opera by the Bühnen der Stadt and for large-

scale productions by the Kammerschauspiele. Bonn had less than half the population of Bochum, ca. 102 000, and had not been so badly bombed although even here more than 25% of the town had been destroyed. The municipal theatre, which received financial assistance from the civic authorities, produced opera, operetta and drama and was supported by a 2500-strong "Freie Volksbühne" and a "Christliche Kulturgemeinde". Although the neighbouring Bad Godesberg had its own "Stadttheater", productions were taken there, too. The Kammerschauspiele, as the name suggests, only produced drama and was supported by a "Jugendring" with about 400 members.

In 1945/46 the municipal theatre was initially headed by Dr. Albert Fischer who was re-instated as "Intendant" by the authorities prior to de-nazification only to be relieved of his post by the British and succeeded by Erich Thormann. The repertoire for this season (Table XIV), as the peripatetic fate of the company might suggest, was not especially coherent. Nathan, Stella and Iphigenie represent the theatre's intention to subscribe to the ideals of humanity, the other seven plays comprise two Naturalist dramas, Elga and Der Strom, and a pot-pourri of various comedies. The Kammerschauspiele (Table XV) contributed a further two classical works, Faust I and Kabale und Liebe, two established and one unknown comedy. Despite the relatively small number of productions it can be seen that just as in Konstanz, the Kammerschauspiele repertoire was based on commercial considerations. This was also, incidentally, reflected in the prices of theatre tickets. While the municipal house charged RM 2,70/3,20/4,20 (February 1946), the private theatre took RM 3,70/4,20/5,20 (October 1945).²⁶

Neither of the two theatres produced a really modern work in the first post-war season; in 1946/47 they each presented one. The Bühnen der Stadt included Professor Mamlock in the selection under the direction of the "Intendant" Erich Thormann. This exercise in coming to terms with the past was favourably received in Bonn. One commentator noted:

Es wird immer wieder behauptet, es sei tunlich, die 'wunde Seele' des deutschen Volkes mit solchen Reminiszenzen zu verschonen. Die starke und herzliche Zustimmung der Zuschauer bewies hingegen, daß sie davon sehen und hören wollen und daß das Gefühl der Beschämung, von dem sich vermutlich nur wenige Anwesende ausschließen dürften, echt und als berechtigt empfunden worden ist.²⁷

The choice of the (now re-named) Neue Kammerspiele was not so controversial. They performed Axel von Ambesser's highly successful Das Abgründige in Herrn Gerstenberg. Nevertheless, they also produced works which, if not so direct as Professor Mamlock, did elicit thoughtful responses from their audiences as a result of their relevance to the present. This was the case with Hofmannsthal's Jedermann which, according to one critic, caused 'Erschütterung' because of 'der stofflichen Zeitnähe dieses (...) Spiels vom Sterben des reichen Mannes'.²⁸ Called up by Death at God's command he is stripped of everything but Belief and His Good Works which finally save him from the Devil. The rest of the 1946/47 selection forms a rather indiscriminate repertoire with Hamlet, Maria Stuart and Torquato Tasso providing the classical components, a variety of comedies and the almost inevitable Raub der Sabinerinnen the light relief. Sudermann's Johannisfeuer which, like Halbe's Der Strom, had become popular earlier in the Forties following newly-conceived productions by Jürgen Fehling in Berlin complete the repertoire. The commercial awareness of the previous season is not maintained here. It might just as well be the repertoire of a subsidized theatre.

At the Bühnen der Stadt two tragedies were performed, Hebbel's Maria Magdalena and Schiller's Die Braut von Messina and, as a counter-balance, Was ihr wollt and Der zerbrochene Krug. This is an extremely popular selection. Although no statistics exist for the first two post-war seasons it is worth noting that between 1947 and 1975 Shakespeare, Schiller, Kleist, and Hebbel took places one, two, eleven, and forty-five in the list of the most frequently performed authors on the German stage.²⁹ The most frequently performed of their works were Was ihr wollt, Maria Stuart (Die Braut von Messina came well down the list), Der zerbrochene Krug and Maria Magdalena. Indeed, Der zerbrochene Krug was the third, Maria Stuart the fourth, and Was ihr wollt the sixth most frequently performed of all plays in West Germany during these years.³⁰ Although the places held by these authors during the period under consideration here would be rather different - Hebbel would move much higher up the list, Kleist much further down - they do serve to indicate the extreme and lasting popularity of the works chosen in Bonn in 1946/47. The inclusion of two other plays adds weight to the argument: Cäsar und Cleopatra - Shaw was the third most popular dramatist in Germany between 1947 and 1975 - and Fuhrmann Henschel - Hauptmann came seventh.³¹

The 1946/47 repertoire is well-balanced although modern plays are under-represented. It is also noticeable that, although British plays are not given any particular preference in either of the first two seasons at either of the two theatres (Hamlet, Charleys Tante and Cäsar und Cleopatra are all standard works and even Zur gepflegten Ansicht was not unusual), French and American drama is totally neglected. The Bühnen der Stadt are slightly more international but the Neue Kammerspiele are solidly based on German theatre literature.

A big change came about in the third post-war season. Firstly, the number of plays performed by both theatres increased considerably: the Bühnen der Stadt to sixteen and two "Märchen", the Neue Kammerspiele to fifteen. Secondly, the actual number of modern plays premiered after May 1945 at both houses increased from one to five at the Bühnen der Stadt and from one to three at the Neue Kammerspiele. Thirdly, and this is a result of the higher proportion of new plays, the selection became far less exclusively German. The Bühnen der Stadt included two British, two French, one Swedish and one American play in their repertoire while even the Neue Kammerspiele presented two American works alongside two standard British works. Despite this the emphasis on German drama is maintained and, in the case of modern plays, extended. The Bühnen der Stadt presented another play by Wolf, Beaumarchais, and the Nebhut comedy Der Teufel stellt Monsieur Darcy ein Bein while the Neue Kammerspiele produced Kaiser's Der Soldat Tanaka.

In general, the repertoire for this season at the Bühnen der Stadt is more experimental although there is no strong sense of breaking new ground. With the exceptions of Der Teufel stellt Monsieur Darcy ein Bein and Draußen vor der Tür which were only premiered in September/November 1947, the new works had all had a chance to establish themselves throughout Germany before this season. Two works were included by non-established authors, Deutscher Totentanz and Dissonanz, which indicate the theatre's willingness to allow new authors an opportunity to see their plays performed. Such an undertaking is risky and was one the commercial Neue Kammerspiele were not prepared to take. There are no such obscure works in their 1947/48 repertoire.³²

In 1947/48 the classics still featured strongly at both houses in Bonn. Each produced Lessing and Schiller, the Neue Kammerspiele added Faust I and Sappho and one Shakespeare. The Bühnen der Stadt included Tartüff and the Greek tragedy Der gefesselte Prometheus. Furthermore, both houses showed a proclivity for late nineteenth, early twentieth century works. During this season, for example, no less than five of the works chosen by the Bühnen der Stadt fall into the period 1890-1910 (Bunbury and Candida, 1985; Flachsmann als Erzieher, 1901; Christus, 1903; Das Konzert, 1909) as do at least three of those selected by the Neue Kammerspiele (Der Andere, 1893; Rose Bernd, 1903; Pygmalion, 1913).

The reasons for this emphasis are surely two-fold. Most theatres serving a heterogeneous audience wish to offer a selection of comedies to attract those potentially intimidated by the classics and suspicious of very modern works. This particular group also tends to prefer German works and the period around the turn of the century brought forth a wealth of comedies, including German comedies, to a much higher degree than the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. The decision to cater for this group which, especially in the case of the Neue Kammerspiele was not least a commercial consideration, did not go unremarked. Bonn was also a university town and students and left-wing critics in particular called for a less commercially oriented and more educational repertoire in articles such as W. H. Patel's call: 'Das Theater soll anstößig sein',³³ in the Bonner Universitäts-Zeitung or an unsigned contribution to the Communist Volksstimme which suggested the theatre should present to the theatre-goer 'nicht (...) was er sehen will, sondern vor allem, was er sehen soll'.³⁴

The call is clearly for the theatre to be a "moralische Anstalt" although the argumentation itself is highly problematic. Who is supposed to select what people ought to see? If the "Intendanten" and "Dramaturgen", what does this imply in cases such as Bochum where those responsible were the same people who had been responsible for repertoires under National Socialism especially as not every theatre had maintained the same degree of relatively uncontroversial neutrality?

A final examination of the three post-war seasons at both Bonn houses reveals a few interesting features which should not go unmentioned. One is the attempt by the Bühnen der Stadt to introduce religious drama into the repertoire, not, as in Konstanz, of a modern or concrete nature but of the more mystical and conceptual nature to be found in Barlach's Der tote Tag and Strindberg's Christus. Another feature is the special interest shown in Naturalism and related works. In 1945/46 it can be determined not only in Hauptmann's love-story Elga at the Bühnen der Stadt but also in Halbe's Der Strom which is set in the wintry West Prussian landscape of the Weichsel. The next season brings Fuhrmann Henschel while at the Neue Kammerspiele Sudermann's most poetic drama, Johannisfeuer, set in Summer in East Prussia can be seen, followed in the next season by Rose Bernd. Within this group of plays two close relationships can be found, the one in the atmosphere of the Bahr and the Sudermann plays, the other, as Karl H. Ruppel points out, between the latter two Hauptmann plays: 'Rose Bernd und Fuhrmann Henschel sind unter den naturalistischen Dramen Hauptmanns diejenigen, deren tragische Konflikte ausschließlich aus dem Verhängnis der Eros-Umstrickung entstehen'.³⁵

These relationships appear all the more interesting in the light of the fact that the plays were put on by different theatres. Two possible conclusions might be drawn: either that the theatres were so certain of the immense interest of their audiences that they could

afford to complement their repertoires and present similar and even related works or that the competition was so fierce that they attempted to compete for the same audience by presenting similar or related works. In view of the undisputed enthusiasm for the theatre at the time, the first explanation must be given credence. It is yet further evidence of the singular situation during these years since it is otherwise inconceivable that a funded and a private theatre should exist side by side offering not contrasting but basically complementary programmes.

Düsseldorf has already featured in this investigation largely due to the presence of two leading theatre personalities at the Städtische Bühnen. Wolfgang Langhoff had been an actor in Düsseldorf under Dumont and Lindemann before 1933 and after ten months in a concentration camp, had emigrated in 1934. He returned to Düsseldorf as "Generalintendant" from the Schauspielhaus Zürich in November 1945 for one season prior to taking charge of Max Reinhardts Deutsches Theater in Berlin. For most of the 1946/47 season Düsseldorf was without a "Generalintendant" until Gustaf Gründgens - former "Generalintendant" of the Staatstheater Berlin under Hitler and interned by the Russians after the war - took up residence in Summer 1947. Both appointments might be described as restoration but restoration of two different types.

The theatre in Düsseldorf had been completely destroyed and three temporary venues were used in the immediate post-war period: from September 1945 the Kammerspiele which held ca. 370 people; from Christmas 1945 the 560-seat Neues Theater and the Volksbühne in Holthausen which held 550 and opened in March 1946. Although by definition a municipal theatre, the Städtische Bühnen were not only

subsidized by Düsseldorf but by the "Landesregierung" of Nordrhein-Westfalen, too, which likened the status to that of a state theatre. The repertoire included drama, opera, operetta and ballet and, apart from serving the 440 000 inhabitants of Düsseldorf, frequent guest appearances in Köln and Aachen took place. Two organizations specifically supported the theatre: the "Kulturfreunde" and the "Gesellschaft für christliche Kultur" with a membership of about 12 000.

The theatre re-opened prior to Langhoff's arrival under the provisional leadership of Anton Krilla who later remained as "Oberspielleiter" for drama. On 12 September 1945 excerpts from the classics were performed at the Kammerspiele entitled "Stunde des Schauspiels" and the first full play to be produced was Coubier's comedy Aimée on 23 September 1945. Langhoff was a Communist and for him politics and theatre were inseparable. He set out to realize a theatre as "moralische Anstalt" in Düsseldorf, theatre as a political and educational forum. In an article entitled "Dichtung und Tendenz" published in the Düsseldorf theatre magazine Die Bühne he clearly stated his aims, the essence of which was 'den deutschen Menschen unzuformen zum Europäer, ihn zu staatsbürgerlichem Denken zu erziehen'.³⁶ This might be achieved by producing "Zeitstücke" whereby Langhoff understands "Zeitstücke" to encompass Lessing, Schiller etc. as well as modern works. He defends "Tendenz" in drama claiming that any statement, with the possible exception of 'Dichtung idyllischer, rein beschreibender Natur', automatically imparts 'Tendenz'. But he differentiates between 'subjektive und objektive Tendenz'. The former is unacceptable because it reduces a problem to 'Schwarzweißmalerei (...) ist peinlich und unwahr'. 'Objektive Tendenz' is concerned with 'die Schattierungen und Zwischentöne', that is, with truth,

the foremost priority for theatre people like Langhoff. The final paragraph summarizes his objectives and ideas:

Unserem heutigen Schrifttum wurde die große Aufgabe gestellt, eine ganze Nation aufzuklären, umzuformen und ihr neue Ziele zu weisen. Seine Tendenz lautet: zu richten, aber auch aufzurichten! Es darf nicht allein anklagen und Fehler aufdecken, sondern muß über die Verneinung hinwegkommen durch Förderung des Menschlichen. An Stelle eines abwegigen Heldenkults und übertriebenen Individualismus wird die Gesellschaftskritik treten. Die deutsche Literatur wird im Dienste der sozialen Gerechtigkeit, des Friedens und der Völkerversöhnung stehen und versuchen, vieles von dem, was unsere früheren Machthaber an der Welt verbrachten, durch Leistung wiedergutzumachen. Möge sie helfen, den Haß zu bezwingen und uns in die Gemeinschaft der Nationen zurückzuführen.³⁷

These were the thoughts which determined the choice of repertoire in Düsseldorf in 1945/46 (Table XVI). Sixteen plays and one "Märchen" were performed and Langhoff did indeed put his ideas into practice. From the classics the two major symbols of "Humanität" were chosen, Iphigenie and Nathan, and Schiller's Kabale und Liebe. From the new works Professor Mamlock and Leuchtfeuer, both of which Langhoff knew from Zürich and both of which will be discussed in detail later, were produced, the former under his direction, the latter, featuring him in the leading role. During Langhoff's season as "Intendant" only two comedy programmes could be seen: a treble-bill with Chekhov's farces Der Bär and Ein Heiratsantrag and Tolstoy's comedy Er ist an allem schuld, and Schurek's Straßenmusik, a comedy originally written in Hamburg dialect. The rest of the repertoire is made up of established plays from the European canon with a slight emphasis on German works and a place for local interest in the inclusion of Eulenberg's Der Übergang. Eulenberg had been "Dramaturg" in Düsseldorf at the beginning of the century and was well-known as an author of socially-critical works.

There is an interesting thematic link between a number of these works personified by the strong woman, capable of sacrifice for the sake of others: this idea is present, if not always foremost, in the figures of Iphigenie, Lady Milford in Kabale und Liebe, Cathérine in Oktoberfest and of course in Nora and Candida.

Reaction to Langhoff and his repertoire was divided. On the one hand he received full support and recognition both from politically and artistically sympathetic sections of the population. A retrospective article in Neues Deutschland, for example, praised him for his 'Pionierarbeit, die sich fernhielt von jeder Konvention, Ausstattung und Unterhaltung beiseiteschob zugunsten der Verwirklichung des großen Gedankens, das Theater zur Tribüne der Zeit zu machen'.³⁸ On the other side were conservative sections of the population who found it difficult to come to terms with a Communist as "Generalintendant". Within a week of issuing "Verordnung Nr. 9" of 15 September 1945 which allowed 'unpolitische Versammlungen, nicht jedoch unlizenzierte Aufführungen',³⁹ the British authorities in Düsseldorf refrained from requiring performances to be licensed individually - Wing-Commander Walser was satisfied with an informal list of planned productions. But the municipal authorities were licensed by the British as the "Kulturträger" of the city and thus ultimately responsible for the activities of the relatively independent "Generalintendant". In his book Kulturpolitik in Düsseldorf Wolfgang Horn points out that the municipal authorities were not only basically conservative, they were to a considerable extent composed of the same personnel as before May 1945.⁴⁰ He cites the examples of the "Kulturamt (Amt 31)" which had been created in 1933 and continued functioning after 1945 and the "Oberbürgermeister" Dr Wilhelm Füllenbach who had previously been "Kämmerer".⁴¹ In this constellation conflicts between Langhoff and the authorities were

inevitable; when Gustav von Wangenheim ceased to be in charge of Max Reinhardts Deutsches Theater in Berlin Langhoff drew the consequences of his Düsseldorf experience and accepted the offer to take his place.

The second post-war season in Düsseldorf largely took place without an "Intendant", no infrequent occurrence at this time, but the difference to 1945/46 is remarkable. The only products of the Langhoff-era are the five plays carried over from the previous season, a further eleven plays and one "Märchen" complete the selection. Of these only three are dramas - Hauptmann's tragic Naturalist play Die Weber, Strindberg's modern Passion play Ostern, and Anouilh's Eurydike - the remaining eight are comedies. With the exceptions of Tobias und der Engel and Das verschlossene Haus, which were premiered post-war, they are all the standard, guaranteed comedies of the traditional repertoire. One commentator referred to this season as 'die intendantenlose, die schreckliche Zeit'⁴² and certainly it does reflect a desire to please the audience at the cost of excising more demanding works which is, in itself, an expression of uncertainty about the direction the theatre should take. Such uncertainty is perfectly understandable: it has already been seen that the role of the "Intendant" was fundamental to the design of the repertoire. Anton Krilla and the colleagues who had to bridge the period between Langhoff and Gründgens could hardly have been expected to imprint their personalities on the Städtische Bühnen. Thus apart from Ostern which was not performed very often and the three new plays which had already proved to be a success by this time, they opted for a completely safe programme.

The reticent attitude of the British authorities towards the theatre in Düsseldorf is reflected in the repertoires, too. In the first post-war season only one British play was performed and that was a standard work (Candida). In 1946/47 there are two, Maß für Maß and

Tobias und der Engel, one standard and one new play. This could hardly be described as saturating the theatre with British works especially as there were none of the guest performances by national companies so favoured by the French in their Zone. The guest performance which was held in 1946/47 came from Wuppertal and was of a German work: Weisenborn's Die Illegalen.

The 1947/48 season in Düsseldorf clearly bears the stamp of the new "Generalintendant" Gustaf Gründgens whose earlier career had provided the material for Klaus Mann's novel Mephisto although Mann claimed he was describing a type and not a specific person. Gründgens was an extremely controversial figure due to his meteoric career under National Socialism but he was recognized as an actor and director of genius even by the least forgiving of his critics. Following internment and de-nazification he was rehabilitated, an act redolent of a Goethe quotation from Wilhelm Meister, cited as a motto in Mephisto: 'Alle Fehler des Menschen verzeih' ich dem Schauspieler, keine Fehler des Schauspielers verzeih' ich dem Menschen'.⁴³ He had begun his career again at Max Reinhardts Deutsches Theater in Berlin on 3 May 1946 playing Christian Maske in Sternheim's Der Snob but, after a mixed start, returned to the city of his birth to a rapturous although in some quarters sceptical welcome at the end of the second post-war season. 1947/48 opened on 15 September with Sophokles's König Oedipus in which Gründgens played the title role just as he had in the previous year in Berlin under the direction of Karlheinz Stroux. Fifteen new productions were presented this season, two were carried over from 1946/47. Both of these are comedies as are a large proportion of the other works selected. The classics are well balanced with Clavigo and the tragi-comic "Märchen" Turandot on the one hand, Kleist's Amphitryon and Grabbe's Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung on the other.

A big emphasis is placed on modern works and, by contrast to Bonn where modern German plays were given precedence, here it is foreign works which feature most strongly: not one of the new 1947/48 productions of plays premiered after May 1945 is German. Indeed, leaving aside the classical plays mentioned, the others are all foreign. The proportion of American works is only exceeded by the Hamburger Kammerspiele; all of them were premiered in the American Zone and all of them are comedies. There are two British works, Shaw's Helden and Priestley's Ein Inspektor kommt, Tschechow's Die Möwe and Bergmann's post-Strindbergian Der Nobelpreis.

The most renowned occurrence of the season was the German premiere of Sartre's Die Fliegen, directed by Gründgens who also played Orest, on 7 November 1947. In Germany generally, reaction to Die Fliegen was overwhelmingly enthusiastic although Christian groups in particular expressed their reservations - about the play, not the production. The Städtische Bühnen it will be remembered included amongst their regular audiences the "Gesellschaft für christliche Kultur" who held their peace, however, since the German premiere of Die Fliegen was a major cultural event supported and attended by many dignitaries including the French Consul General, Minister Arnal. But when Meine Nichte Susanne, an insignificant musical comedy, was premiered just a fortnight later, a storm of protest broke out. Neues Deutschland noted:

Christliche Kreise nützten die Chance, die sie bei den Atheisten Sartre vorübergehen ließen, und protestierten unwillig über den Mangel an Moral in der Susanne. Dem zum Trotz und obwohl sich Gründgens klug genug und ganz offenherzig zu dieser Panne bekannte, blieb der Schmarren weiter auf dem Spielplan.⁴⁴

Productions like this caused discontent not only in Christian circles but also amongst the supporters of the theatre as a "moralische Anstalt".

They saw the work pioneered by Langhoff being undermined: 'Auf dem mühevollen Weg, der uns bevorsteht, brauchen wir auch auf dem Theater weniger Narkotika als stärkende Wegzehrung'.⁴⁵ But Gründgens was not Langhoff nor was he an over-enthusiastic supporter of the "moralische Anstalt" school of thinking. He considered the concept to be used far too freely and did not hesitate to make his opinion known, most controversially in a lecture at the close of the "Düsseldorfer Presse-Ausstellung" on 29 November 1947. He argued for theatre being bound to its own time and its own place - when he arrived in Düsseldorf he informed critics 'ich bin nicht nach Düsseldorf gekommen, um Berliner Theater zu machen (...) Ich bin nach Düsseldorf gekommen, um Düsseldorfer Theater zu machen',⁴⁶ - so that no concept of theatre could be made absolute as was happening with the "moralische Anstalt". He continued:

Das heißt nicht, daß es keine erzieherischen Aufgaben hätte. Das heißt nicht, daß man nicht in der Stadt, in der man arbeitet, bis an die Grenze des Möglichen gehen sollte; aber eben des Möglichen.⁴⁷

Furthermore, Gründgens accused some of his contemporaries of over-estimating the importance of the theatre or even of using it (and especially theatre reviews) to make political statements which could not be made elsewhere. Critical reaction to his ideas was predictably antagonistic.

In the light of these ideas on theatre it is clear that Langhoff and Gründgens were very far apart in their thinking and thus in the type of repertoire they preferred. Nevertheless, it should not be inferred that Gründgens's choice was superficial. With the exception of what he referred to as 'meine unselige Nichte Susanne',⁴⁸ which had specifically been included in the selection as a contrast to König Oedipus, Die Fliegen, Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung and such difficult works, the

repertoire is certainly not without substance; it is just less unrelentingly serious than repertoires like Langhoff's.

Having examined a major city theatre where two recognized theatre personalities were responsible for repertoire, I shall next examine a very ordinary municipal theatre in a smaller town with no famous connexions or reputation. The Städtische Bühnen had lost their home at the Stadttheater in the bombing but soon established themselves again, firstly in the "Turnhalle der Oberschule" in Hagen-Haspe, known as the Neues Theater, later also in a hall in the renovated "Stadthalle" in Hagen, known as the Kammerspiele. Together they could cater for an audience of about 740. Both houses received financial assistance from the municipal authorities and presented opera, operetta and drama to the 127 000 inhabitants of Hagen and a number of smaller towns in the area.

Officially the Städtische Bühnen re-opened on 9 September 1945 with a production of Charleys Tante but even before this, performances were given - a "Bunter Abend" involving almost the whole ensemble on 19 August, for example, and a "Goethe-Abend" on 28 August.⁴⁹ During the first post-war season at least four plays and one "Märchen" were produced (Table XVII). Once again, from the classics Iphigenie and Kabale und Liebe were chosen, a farce and Coubier's extremely popular comedy Aimée. But it is not actually possible to be definitive about the first post-war season in Hagen; the sources are contradictory. The repertoire for 1945/46 given here is taken from the Jahresberichte 1945-1948 of the "Stadtverwaltung Hagen" which are in the possession of the "Stadtarchiv" Hagen and contain annual reports on the theatre in the town. In honour of the seventy-fifth anniversary

of the Städtische Bühnen, however, a book is being prepared by the theatre itself and here, too, repertoires have been reconstructed. According to the "Dramaturg" Andreas Büchel, the 1945/46 season also included Shakespeare's Was ihr wollt, Arnold's/Bach's Die spanische Fliege, Schönherr's "Sittendrama aus dem Bauernleben"⁵⁰ Der Weibsteufel and Maugham's Finden Sie, daß sich Constanze richtig verhält?⁵¹

From other sources (Theatermuseum der Universität Köln) it is known that the first three of these plays were planned⁵² but there is no single reference to the Maugham nor any evidence that any of the plays was actually produced. It seems probable that at least some of the plays were included since, despite the difficult circumstances and the fact that several other "bunte Abende" were put on, four is a very small number for a full season beginning in September.

The repertoires for the following two seasons are based on the same sources although here the differences are not so grave as in 1945/46 and there is no doubt that the plays cited were produced during these seasons. Most remarkable by comparison with 1945/46 is that no less than three classical tragedies were selected: Maria Stuart, Othello and Gyges und sein Ring. In fact, despite a cluster of light comedies, which are described in the civic reports as 'die für die Nachspielzeit erforderliche Unterhaltungsliteratur',⁵³ it is a fairly heavy programme. Besides the tragedies, four Hauptmann plays are featured in the framework of a "Hauptmann-Festwoche", only one of which could be described as a comedy. On top of this, one of the works included in this repertoire caused protests:

Das Schauspiel Die heilige Flamme führte zu einem Protest einer Anzahl Jugendlicher während einer Vorstellung. Ein öffentlicher Diskussionsabend wurde angesetzt. Starke Beteiligung, rege Debatten und interessante Erörterungen erhoben diesen Abend über den Alltag hinaus.⁵⁴

W. Somerset Maugham's play is about euthanasia.

Hagen, under a temporary "Intendant", Otto Schönfeldt, did not neglect modern works. During this season two of the fifteen plays had only been premiered in Germany after the war: Die weiße Weste and Antigone. While this is not a very high proportion it does compare favourably with a number of other theatres such as Bochum (2:19) or Bonn (1:12) in the same period.

The majority of works are German, there is one French but not a single American play. The presence of Shakespeare in the repertoire is unremarkable, not so that of Maugham and Edgar Wallace who do not feature elsewhere. Hagen is unmistakeably situated in the British Zone.

According to the civic reports, 1945/46 and 1946/47 were not considered to be more than interim theatre seasons. The appointment of Dr. Hermann Werner as "Intendant" was supposed to herald the beginning of 'einer planvollen Arbeit'.⁵⁵ The concepts underpinning this new beginning which the theatre hoped to see realized are described as follows:

Mehr denn je hat das Theater unserer Tage ganz unter dem Gesetz zu stehen, den Weg zu wahrer Menschlichkeit zu weisen, den Menschen in seinem Ringen um seine Menschheit zu stärken und gegen die Vergewaltigung der Menschenrechte zu kämpfen, in welcher Form sie auch immer in Erscheinung treten mögen.⁵⁶

The theatre's intention was to achieve these goals through a synthesis of good classical plays and the selected works of contemporary German and foreign authors, emphasizing those banned under National Socialism. The latter intention was achieved by including Nathan der Weise, Rolland's Ein Spiel von Tod und Liebe and Shaw's Die heilige Johanna amongst the fifteen plays and one "Märchen" selected for performance in 1947/48. While not strongly represented numerically, the classic works Nathan and Don Carlos clearly symbolize the ideals of humanity and freedom and the fight for human rights, as do Ein Spiel von Tod und Liebe and Die heilige Johanna.

One classic comedy features as well as the stock works of light entertainment, and there are five new plays premiered post-war. When it is remembered that theatres like Düsseldorf with far better connexions and a greater reputation than Hagen only produced the same proportion of new works or less, this achievement is remarkable. Two of the new works are comedies, Das Lied der Taube and Drei Mann auf einem Pferd. Holm's and Abbot's farce was a huge success all over Germany at the time, admired and laughed at as a genuine piece of unpretentious American humour by critics of every political persuasion. Monsignores große Stunde, Des Teufels General and a Russian play by Dmitri Tscheglow, Der Wirbelsturm, which was performed for the first time in the Western Zones by Hagen after receiving its German premiere in Meiningen in the Russian Zone, complete the 1947/48 repertoire.

This selection is not only notable for its balance and conceptual cohesion, it is also very international, if not to quite such a great extent as Düsseldorf. German, French, British and a large proportion of American plays feature although no particular interest in modern French drama can be discerned: only Antigone was produced;

there are no works by Giraudoux, Cocteau and none, however, by Priestley or Rattigan. The whole scope of the repertoire is much broader than 1946/47 without showing a marked preference for any one country. The inclusion of a modern Russian play singles Hagen out from the mass of theatres in the Western Zones and indicates the cosmopolitanism of those responsible for Hagen's repertoires. Further evidence of this can be seen in the fact that the modern plays Hagen produced had been premiered throughout the Zones: of the five 1947/48 works one had been premiered in each of the four Zones of Germany, and one in Berlin.

It should be noted that the repertoire reconstructed by the Städtische Bühne for this season also includes Faust I and II, Hinrich's Krach um Jolanthe and Bahr's Das Konzert. Although the civic reports for this season are very detailed, no mention is made of these works, and it is highly unlikely that Faust I and Faust II would have remained unmentioned had they actually been performed, it can thus be inferred that they were not produced by Hagen itself. The possibility of guest performances cannot be completely excluded.

The third post-war season in Hagen is extremely interesting, not least in the light of Gründgens's previously quoted opinion that theatre is bound to its own time and its own place but should be pushed to the limits of what is possible. This is what Hermann Werner and the Städtische Bühnen Hagen attempted to do and it must be recognized that their choice of repertoire was excellently suited to the purpose.

According to the list of premieres which took place between 1945 and 1946 (Table XI) Hamburg was developing into the leading theatre centre in the British Zone. Two theatres hosted most of the major premieres: the Deutsches Schauspielhaus and the Hamburger Kammerspiele.

The Deutsches Schauspielhaus was a municipal theatre and, although not destroyed during the war, was requisitioned by the British and only available for sporadic matinée performances by the company. The second house - the Deutsches Volkstheater in Altona - had been completely razed on 11 March 1945. After performing in churches and anywhere else that could be found the company was allowed the use of the "Gewerkschaftshaus am Besenbinderhof" which held 980 people and opened on 5 November 1945. As a second house the "Kassenhalle der Altonaer Sparkasse" was used from 6 October 1945 to 31 October 1947 after which the Kleines Haus opened in the 750-seat "Haus der Jugend" in Altona. Since there was also a state opera/ballet company in Hamburg, the Deutsches Schauspielhaus only presented drama to the 1.4 million inhabitants of Hamburg. The physical conditions were particularly bad. The lay-out and acoustics in the "Besenbinderhof" were so dreadful that in a report written in 1948 the "Dramaturg" Gert Omar Leutner noted:

Um verständlich zu sein, müssen sich die Darsteller oft in Szenen zarter und leiser Gespräche einer illusionsstörenden Stimmaufwands bedienen (ein Vorgang, der gegen das Empfinden des Darstellers geht und seine Konzentration gefährdet). Die Tiefe der Bühne erlaubt im Verhältnis zu ihrer Breite und den äußerst beengten und mangelhaften Auftrittsmöglichkeiten keine Aufführungen von Werken, die die Illusion von Weite und Tiefe verlangen.⁵⁷

On top of this, Leutner noted that all the workshops were situated immediately behind the stage and could only be reached by walking through the middle of rehearsals. The storage rooms were distributed amongst various water towers and anti-aircraft towers throughout the city. There was no space for musicians, no light bulbs, no draperies etc.

Leutner's report describing these problems in detail came in response to accusations from a number of critics in 1947 that the Deutsches Schauspielhaus had not succeeded in creating a new profile for itself,⁵⁸ tended to be loud and unrefined in style⁵⁹ and failed to be daring, satisfied to fall back on a safe, traditional repertoire.⁶⁰ Leutner argued that a first-class repertoire presupposed a comparable ensemble; for political reasons, due to the war and emigration but also as a result of more lucrative contracts for guest-performances, such ensembles were not available. There was too little to attract actors to Hamburg: no special treatment for artists was forthcoming similar to that in Berlin and the Russian Zone; it was almost impossible to find anywhere to live and so on. He also outlines the problems involved in obtaining texts for performance caused, for example, by the division of the country into Zones and the concomitant decentralization, the tendency of the occupying powers, especially the French, to hoard the works of their own dramatists, the imponderables of currency transfer, the difficulty of sending manuscripts by post and other problems. He concludes by joining the debate on the lack of new German drama and claiming there was plenty of it but that it just was not good enough to warrant performing.

By examining the repertoires of the Deutsches Schauspielhaus it will be possible to establish how valid some of the criticisms really were. In response to Leutner's report, however, it should be remembered that the physical conditions at the Hamburg theatres, though bad, were no worse than in many other towns and cities. Furthermore, Hamburg had been badly destroyed by bombing (more than 50% of buildings had been lost) but so, too, had Düsseldorf, Mönchengladbach and other towns while in Köln less than 25% of the pre-war city was still standing; the housing problem was equally acute, if not worse. Leutner's suggestion that the Deutsches Schauspielhaus was lacking a first-class ensemble is not particularly convincing either. The degree of cooperation within the ensemble may have been unsatisfactory but, a company including as permanent members such distinguished actors and actresses as Werner Hinz, Robert Meyn, Bernhard Minetti, Will Quadflieg, Ehmi Bessel, Hilde Krahle and Maria Wimmer, could hardly be stamped second-rate, although it must be noted that by the time Leutner was writing, the composition of the company was changing and some of the prominent actors were moving away. Finally, with regard to the question of obtaining texts it must be said that if the Städtische Bühnen Hagen could manage to put together an adventurous repertoire it should have been well within the capabilities of a theatre as established and famous as the Deutsches Schauspielhaus.

The very first post-war season (Table XVIII) did not come under such virulent attack from the critics. The first performance was Hofmannsthal's Jedermann on 29 August 1945 at the St. Johannis Kirche Harvestehude and the first season officially opened on 6 October with Gogol's Der Revisor. It is a strongly classically-based

programme which follows, though not especially heavy, featuring serious drama and comedy. There is one tragedy, Sophokles's Antigone, and the almost inevitable pairing of Nathan and Iphigenie as well as Shakespeare. The standard repertoire comedies are well represented with Weh dem, der lügt, Der Revisor, Das Glas Wasser, Jugendfreunde and the farce Raub der Sabinerinnen. Only one really modern play is featured and that is a German premiere, Giraudoux's end of the world drama exemplified by the problems of the relationship between the sexes, Sodom und Gomorrha. An indication that the "Intendant" of the Deutsches Schauspielhaus, Arthur Hellmer, had been an emigrant in England is the inclusion of Jonson's Volpone. The play was known in Germany, especially in the version translated by Stefan Zweig, but was an unusual choice for this season and does not occur at any of the other theatres examined here. Despite Hellmer's personal experiences, the selection is not overtly British. Most of the plays are German; there are two French, one Russian but no American works.

The repertoire lacks strong thematic links beyond rather obvious points such as investigating the relationship between the sexes, not only in Sodom und Gomorrha but also in Der widerspenstigen Zähmung and, to a lesser extent, in Liliom. It is a selection of proven works, solid and unadventurous, taking little notice of works banned under Hitler (Liliom does belong in this category but was dismissed as irrelevant in 1946⁶¹) or those confronting the immediate past. Particular relevance was ascribed to Nathan which, in Hamburg at least, was specifically seen as 'moralische Wiedergutmachung an den Menschen, die im Dritten Reich verfolgt und gemartert worden waren'⁶² and Antigone, which heralded new ideals upon which to base one's life.

Nathan remained in the repertoire but as the overall situation did not change significantly in 1946/47, considerable dissension was caused amongst the critics especially as Hellmer was now established as "Intendant". In the chaos of the first season clear perspectives were not expected; by the second season expectations had altered especially in view of the transparency of the repertoire at the Kammerspiele, as will be seen later. An analysis of the second season reveals, however, that the critics were being harsh. They attacked the Deutsches Schauspielhaus for not providing the expected number of new works but, even leaving aside the Kammerspiele whose whole ethos it was to present modern and banned works, there were other houses in Hamburg like the Thalia-Theater and Junge Bühne which also catered for this field: in 1946/47 the repertoire of the former included Anouilh's Antigone, Kaiser's Adrienne Ambrossat, Wolf's Professor Mamlock, while the latter presented Weisenborn's Die Illegalen and Wilder's Eine kleine Stadt. There were only a certain number of new works available and it should not be forgotten that the Deutsches Schauspielhaus was not a "Kammertheater" but essentially a venue for large-scale classical productions as the repertoire for 1945/46 clearly reveals.

Part of the problem at the Deutsches Schauspielhaus centred on the "Intendant" Arthur Hellmer, described by one commentator as 'einen wenig glücklichen Griff'.⁶³ He had only directed one play himself, Dantons Tod, 'der schon nach der Premiere in Hellmers Tod ungetauft wurde'.⁶⁴ He did not enjoy the sympathy of the company, the fate of a number of theatre people who returned from emigration, and at one point only maintained his position on the intervention of the "Oberbürgermeister". Attempts to install Heinz Hilpert as "Generalintendant" of a combination of Hamburg stages failed and he went to Frankfurt. Many felt this signalled the end

of Hamburg's chance of developing 'zur größten Theaterstadt der britischen Zone bzw. Deutschlands'.⁶⁵ This, it will be remembered, was precisely what was said about Berlin on Gründgens's departure and indicates how closely the success of a theatre was identified with the personality of the "Intendant". In fact Hellmer only survived until the end of 1946/47. He was succeeded by Rudolf Külüs as temporary director until May 1948 when the post was filled permanently once again by Albert Lippert.

The 1946/47 season brought only two new classic productions, the Dantons Tod and a much praised Zweierlei Maß, but also only two new plays. As in the previous season Giraudoux was included with the romantic "Märchen" Undine and there was also a German premiere: O'Neill's Trauer muß Elektra tragen. This was not enough to satisfy the calls for more modern, but especially more relevant drama particularly since the Brecht play included was an established work and not a new one. Other German works of a retrospective nature form a considerable part of the selection - Die Sündflut, Die Weber, Lumpacivagabundus - and, just as in Düsseldorf one season earlier, a Russian comedy evening is featured.

There are a number of connexions between the Düsseldorf and the Deutsches Schauspielhaus repertoires which suggest that Hamburg took their cue from their colleagues in the Rheinland. Apart from the Russian comedies, Maß für Maß or Zweierlei Maß which did not appear at any of the other houses examined here, came out in Düsseldorf on 15 September 1946 and followed in Hamburg on 1 March 1947;⁶⁶ Die Weber,⁶⁷ which is equally unusual, came out in Düsseldorf on 23 February 1947 and at the Deutsches Schauspielhaus on 7 June 1947. No such influences can be traced in the opposite direction; accusations that the Deutsches Schauspielhaus lacked originality are not totally unfounded. What

Hamburg did not share with Misseldorf during this season was the cosmopolitanism of the repertoire. There is one American play but only one, one French, one British and the four short Russian plays presented as one performance. Where, the critics asked, were Claudel's Der seidene Schuh, Brecht's Mutter Courage, Sartre's Die Fliegen, Giraudoux's Die Irre von Chaillot or Frisch's Nun singen sie wieder?⁶⁸

Amongst the twelve new productions there is a balance between comedy and serious drama and it is worth noting that several of the dramatists represented are those recommended by Falk Harnack in his catalogue of authors and works suited to founding an educational theatre in Germany (see p. 9ff.). Besides Nathan and Iphigenie his list includes Dantons Tod, various unspecified plays by Shakespeare as well as Tolstoi, Gorki, Hauptmann, Brecht, Giraudoux and O'Neill. All of these can be found in the 1946/47 repertoire. But Harnack himself admitted that simply putting together a selection of these works would not necessarily make a good repertoire if the result were out of touch with current needs. The second post-war season at the Deutsches Schauspielhaus proves the validity of his reservations.

In 1947/48 seventeen new productions came to the Deutsches Schauspielhaus under Rudolf KÜlls and it is immediately noticeable that the distribution of plays is quite different from the previous season. Whereas in 1946/47 out of a total of twelve there were just two classical and two modern works, there are now five classical and six modern plays. Shakespeare remains standard fare with Hamlet and Viel Lärm um nichts and the first post-war Schiller is featured, Die Räuber. In the light of the fact that Schiller's ideas were so

important to theatre people at the time it is surprising that his works occur so irregularly in the repertoires: in Bochum (Table XIII) where the classics were the main emphasis of the repertoire, not a single Schiller play was produced during these three seasons; by contrast, in Hagen (Table XVII) and at the Kammerspiele in Bonn (Table XV) one major play by Schiller was performed each season. This phenomenon reflects the traditional affiliations of houses or their attempts to set new standards in the post-war period. The other classic works at the Deutsches Schauspielhaus, Der zerbrochene Krug and Heirat wider willen were performed together as a comedy evening. The habit of including Russian works is maintained with Tolstoi's Der lebende Leichnam and a more international character is evident in the choice of the comedies Cäsar und Cleopatra and Der Mann des Schicksals by Shaw and Was kam denn da ins Haus? by Lope de Vega. Although it is more international there is no sense of drawing on Düsseldorf successes; there are no common productions at all this season.

Another major difference in 1947/48 is the number and nationality of the modern works premiered after May 1945. Three of the four plays are German and two of these are world and German premieres respectively: Jahnn's Armut, Reichtum, Mensch und Tier and Zuckmayer's Des Teufels General. It is ironic that, due to the ban in the American Zone, Des Teufels General should have come out in Hamburg just before Frankfurt although Zuckmayer had wished his friend Hilpert to direct the German premiere. Hilpert might well have become "Generalintendant" in Hamburg in 1946 in which case he would have hosted and directed the first production in Germany. Together with the Zuckmayer the third modern German play, Werfel's Jacobowsky und der Oberst,

was the first overt attempt to confront the immediate past undertaken by the Deutsches Schauspielhaus and to acquaint audiences with German exile drama. The highly successful Drei Mann auf einem Pferd contributed a farce to the theatre's selection of modern works which also included the American Jesuit Monsignorens große Stunde and Priestley's Ein Inspektor kommt.

The third post-war season is very international and it can be seen that a larger proportion of British plays was performed than at other houses. French drama, especially in the form of post-war premieres, is under-represented. In general this is true of both French and American drama over the three seasons.

During this period a development can be traced from the classically based repertoire of 1945/46 through a recapitulatory selection of works to a more modern and critical choice in the third post-war season. It is a development reflecting the search for a tenable position in the new post-war situation, the desire to create a "moralische Anstalt" but a tentative approach towards doing so. None of the confidence expressed in Falk Harnack's proposals for the contemporary theatre nor in Wolfgang Langhoff's first post-war repertoire in Düsseldorf can be found in the selections of the Deutsches Schauspielhaus. Rather than putting a pre-defined programme into practice, an empirical method is employed which was not always deserving of the harsh criticism it received. Certainly the 1947/48 repertoire is more adventurous but also better balanced and more confident under the aegis of the new "Intendant". In Hamburg as in Bochum increasing normality could not be said to be accompanied by consolidation but by a greater degree of experimentation.

Very early in the first post-war season the Deutsches Schauspielhaus lost one of its leading actresses. On the initiative of colleagues and with the help of the theatre fan and property developer Erich Rohlfss and the British theatre officer John Olden, Ida Ehre set about founding 'ein Theater der Menschlichkeit (...), ein Theater des guten Willens'.⁶⁹ A house was found in the Hartungstraße - the Savoy Theatre which held ca. 535 people and had been used by the British as a cabaret - and re-named after Erich Ziegel's former company, the Hamburger Kammerspiele. It was a private venture, presenting drama only, and opened on 10 December 1945 with Ardrey's Leuchtfeuer.

In the accompanying programme Ida Ehre outlined the theatre's aims in an article entitled "Unser Streben":

Es muß dort wieder anknüpfen, wo die Fäden durch die Zensur oder durch Feindschaft zerissen worden sind, es muß das Beste aus dem In- und Ausland bringen und nur einem einzigen Ziel dienen, dem Ziel aller echter Kunst: die ewigen Wahrheiten zu suchen und ihnen Ausdruck zu verleihen.⁷⁰

This precise expression of intent sets the Kammerspiele apart from the Deutsches Schauspielhaus. At the same time, it lays a clear emphasis on modern and banned drama and, although Ida Ehre rejected the concept of theatre as a "moralische Anstalt", on educational drama, too: when at first it looked as though the theatre might fail and Rohlfss suggested they would have to concentrate on comedies. Ida Ehre responded:

Ich mache mein Theater nicht auf, um dem Publikum Komödien vorzuspielen. Ich mache mein Theater auf, um dem Publikum zu zeigen, daß es auch anderswo noch Menschen gibt, daß es wichtig ist, die Charaktere dieser Menschen kennzulernen, das Handeln.

Ich möchte den Menschen, die so versunken
sind in der Gedankenbrühe der vergangenen
Jahre, wieder eigene Gedanken geben. Ich
kann ihnen nicht gleich etwas anbieten, daß sie
sich auf die Schenkel schlagen müssen vor
Heiterkeit, das muß langsam gehen. Ich möchte
ihnen in kleinen Schritten Wege aufzeigen, wie
das Leben weitergehen könnte.⁷¹

In the first post-war season (Table XIX) seven plays and one
"Märchen" could be seen at the Kammerspiele, the oldest being Shaw's
Frau Warrens Gewerbe. This was also the only production to elicit
an overwhelmingly negative response. Although it was thematically
integrated into the repertoire in its rejection of a dishonest and
hypocritical society, the production did not manage to convince all
the commentators or the younger members of the audience of the play's
relevance to their lives.⁷²

Bruckner's Die Marquise von O, based on Kleist's novella but
seeking a deeper, more psychological understanding of the human
soul, is an example of the attempt made by the Kammerspiele to re-
establish continuity with the period before 1933 since Bruckner had
been on the Nazi black-list for twelve years. The intention of con-
centrating on a "Theater der Moderne"⁷³ is expressed in the choice of
four modern plays, no less than three of which are world or German
premieres. The German premiere is the only real comedy included in the
selection, Osborn's Familienleben, planned as light entertainment and
an opportunity to acquaint audiences with an American domestic comedy.
The world premieres are both of German works, von Ambesser's Das Abgründige
in Herrn Gerstenberg and Spoerl's Die weiße Weste. At the end of the
first post-war season, the "Dramaturgin" Ilse Höger noted:

Den Hamburger Kammerspielen ist Die weiße Weste
Wegweiser für ihre weitere Arbeit, die darin
besteht, die Verlogenheit und Unlauterkeit
einer bestehenden Gesellschafts- und Lebensmoral
anzugreifen und sich einzusetzen für die Echtheit

und Sauberkeit menschlicher Beziehungen und Lebensumstände. Nicht in ästhetischer Schöntuerei, nicht in der reinen Lust am Experiment sieht unsere Bühne ihre Verpflichtung, sondern in der Wahrhaftigkeit dessen, was sie aufnimmt und darstellt.⁷⁴

Each of the plays premiered after the war was carried over into the 1946/47 season. As of the nine new productions, six also belong in this category, the proportion of new works is exceptionally high. There is, in fact, only one standard work included in the selection, Ibsen's Die Wildente which, however, was seldom produced during this period and indicates that the individuality of the repertoire was not restricted to the very modern works. The idea of presenting ordinary characters in every-day situations, as in Familienleben, is maintained with a special emphasis on the poetic dramatization of such situations. This is the essence of Tagore's one-act play Das Postamt but also of one of the new works, Saroyan's Mein Herz ist im Hochland. Both are highly atmospheric and gentle and both concern the relationship between dreams and reality, the first in the life of a small boy, the latter in the life of an old man. Something of this atmosphere is also to be found in Eurydike, in Anouilh's synthesis of real and surreal elements, while the intermingling of the real and the surreal are also central features of Wilder's Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen, another of the major new productions of this season which will be discussed later.

The cause of justice is the main consideration in Kaiser's Der Soldat Tanaka which, like Giraudoux's Der trojanische Krieg wird nicht stattfinden, is one of the plays immediately confronting the problems of the preceding years. Looking back on the 1946/47 and 1947/48 seasons Drommert noted: 'Fast jede der großen Inszenierungen dieser Bühne wurde ein künstlerisches Ereignis von Rang'.⁷⁵

On top of this, Der trojanische Krieg signalled the achievement of a finely tuned ensemble in which distinguished individual performers such as Hilde Krahle, Ida Ehre, Hans Oest or Erwin Linder revealed a genuine spirit of cooperation, creating real cohesion within the company.

Ida Ehre, although she refused to present only comedies, did appreciate the necessity for entertainment. This season Das Lied der Taube was chosen and Benatzsky's Meine Nichte Susanne which, one season before Düsseldorf, did not cause the same moral outrage as Gründgens's production.

Cooperation between Düsseldorf and the Kammerspiele led to the exchange of productions in the third post-war season. Gründgens took Die Fliegen to Hamburg for three performances (altogether twenty were licensed), Ida Ehre Die Troerinnen to Düsseldorf. This production is one of the two tragedies of the season, the other being Maria Stuart with which the Kammerspiele demonstrated that they were also capable of presenting a major classical work - usually the prerogative of large houses. Die Troerinnen, like the world premiere of the season, Borchert's Draußen vor der Tür, directly confronted the problems of the time: the dilemmas of the defeated nation and those of the individual returning to find everything lost. According to one critic: 'Die Zuschauer waren erschüttert'.⁷⁶ Equally relevant was the critical discussion of modern democracy in Shaw's Der Kaiser von Amerika, a political comedy which, as Drommert notes 'scheint heute aktueller als zur Zeit seiner Entstehung (1929)'.⁷⁷

By comparison with the previous two seasons the proportion of comedies is high with Amphitryon 38, Bürger Schippel, which highlights the dishonesty of bourgeois society, Eine Schnur geht durchs Zimmer, Katajew's satire on the lack of housing in the Soviet Union with its obvious contemporary parallels in the Hamburg of 1947, as well as Claudia and Der Herr im Haus from the list of plays premiered after the war. It should be noted that the two American comedies formed the "Sommerspielplan" and were only actually performed after the Currency Reform when even the Kammerspiele had to make some concessions to the altered situation. After Lavery's Monsignorens große Stunde at the Deutsches Schauspielhaus, the Kammerspiele presented Die erste Legion which did not find the same enthusiasm in the Protestant north as in the Catholic parts of the country.

Clearly the intention of the Kammerspiele to acquaint their audiences with good new works from home and abroad was fully achieved over the three seasons, but to a greater extent with regard to foreign than to domestic drama. If such an exciting repertoire is to be criticized at all then for the absence of Brecht, Weisenborn, Wolf and Zuckmayer and for failing to experiment with new, unknown authors. But here the same applies as in the case of the Deutsches Schauspielhaus: there were several theatres in Hamburg presenting German works so that overall the emphasis placed on foreign drama at the Kammerspiele must be considered quite legitimate.

French drama is under-represented which reflects the fact that outside the French Zone, Giraudoux and Anouilh were the only French authors regularly featured. Apart from Die Fliegen, the only modern French play in the third season was a guest performance of La Guerre de

Troïen'aura pas lieu by the Compagnie Jean Marchat. Despite the key role played by the British theatre officer John Olden, especially in obtaining texts, there is not a single previously unperformed British play in the selections chosen between 1945 and 1948. The majority of foreign plays are American and many had been premiered in the American Zone.

The Hamburger Kammerspiele enjoyed a special status in the post-war theatre landscape of the Western Zones of Germany. The fact that Ida Ehre was a Jew placed her above any suspicion which might be levelled against theatre people such as Gründgens either by the occupying power or by political opposition to National Socialism within Germany. Furthermore, she had not emigrated but remained in Germany protected only by her rather tenuous status in a "privilegierte Mischehe" (married to an Aryan with a common child) and was thus not greeted with the scepticism sometimes afforded to those returning from exile. Her own life was the legitimation of her aims and work in the theatre and her only critics were other Jews, especially those now abroad, who could not understand how she could remain in Germany and work together with Germans. Her close association with Wolfgang Liebeneiner, who had been a director at the Staatstheater in Berlin and head of production at UFA (the German film empire) during the war and now became one of the three leading directors at the Kammerspiele can, even today, only be explained in terms of personal sympathy and an extraordinary generosity of spirit.

Due to the nature of the Kammerspiele, the theatre under Ida Ehre had possibilities for specialization quite different from those of ordinary municipal theatres. The Städtische Bühnen Köln was an ordinary municipal theatre which, like so many others, had lost its buildings during the war. The Städtische Bühnen presented opera, operetta, ballet

and drama, was subsidized by the civic authorities and supported by a 5000-strong "Freie Volksbühne" and a "Gesellschaft für christliche Kultur" with a membership of ca. 1000. Performances were held in the "Aula der Universität" which could accommodate an audience of 1350 and in the 450-seat "Kammerspiele am Übierring". Apart from playing to the half a million or so remaining inhabitants of Köln, guest performances were given in a number of towns as far away as Koblenz, and exchanges took place with Bonn, Düsseldorf and Essen. Köln itself was devastated: more than 75% of buildings in general and 70% of housing had been destroyed.

For the first two seasons Köln was without a "Generalintendant". Karl Pempelfort, born in Düsseldorf, had been relieved of his post as "Intendant" of the Schlesisches Landestheater in 1933 and had survived as a director in Königsberg. He now returned to the Rheinland as "Chefdramaturg" and "Oberspielleiter" in Köln. In the first post-war season (Table XX) eleven productions featured including one world premiere of a play unknown today: O. H. Pfeiffe's comedy Pygmalion wird kuriert. The selection covers only one other play premiered after the war, Leuchtfeuer. Pempelfort directed the play and the response was just as enthusiastic as in Hamburg. The 1945/46 repertoire is largely divided into comedy and tragedy with an unusual emphasis on classical tragedy - in the first post-war season Köln is the only house examined to present three major classic tragedies: Kabale und Liebe, Hamlet and, from the Greek theatre, Sophokles's Antigone. Apart from Ein Sommernachtstraum, the other comedies, which are not related thematically, are Pagnol's Zum goldenen Anker, a love story set in Marseille forming a trilogy of plays of which only Fanny is actually defined as a comedy by Pagnol, although all three parts are steeped

in his slightly wistful humour; Nina, in which the double of a famous movie star rises to fame herself, and Lady Windermere's Fächer. Hofmannsthal's Jedermann and Strindberg's lyrical-fantasy Ein Traumspiel which complete the selection, also set the tone for one special aspect of the Köln repertoire: drama of a religious or specifically Christian character investigating the nature of good and evil.

In the ten productions following in 1946/47 this theme is followed-up particularly in Claudel's Der seidene Schuh which was the German premiere of the season, too. Claudel's monumental work has been described as a "modernes Welttheater"⁷⁸ related in scope and genre to Hofmannsthal's Das große Welttheater which was indeed produced the following season. In 1946/47 Der seidene Schuh was one of the only two plays premiered post-war; the other was Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen which also uses a Christian frame of reference for the fate of the Antrobus family. The classics are strongly represented, though not so weighted towards tragedy as in the previous season. Two Shakespeare plays, one tragedy and one comedy, two Büchner plays, the Woyzeck fragment and Leonce und Lena, are included as well as - yet again - Iphigenie. The shift away from tragedy may have been a result of the appointment of Herbert Maisch to the post of "Generalintendant" in the Spring of 1947. The appointment was controversial: Herbert Maisch had directed propaganda films between 1933 and 1945 and, although allowed to continue directing, had been refused permission to take on a theatre of his own after the war. He was in line for Stuttgart and Mannheim but was only released from the ban when the position in Köln was offered to him. He was almost as ambivalent a figure as Gründgens. By the end of the third post-war season both were

firmly established as "Generalintendanten" of major houses in the Rheinland and a further contribution had been made to the process of restoration within the German theatre.

The 1946/47 season features established works but with a conscious effort to include both those which encourage the audience to examine their own behaviour and motives and those which were banned under National Socialism such as Feiler's historical comedy Die sechste Frau, a parody on dictatorship exemplified by Henry VIII, or Rolland's Ein Spiel von Tod und Liebe. The proportion of comedies is increased by Molnár's Spiel im Schloß which of all Molnár's plays was the most popular during this period. Exactly half the plays are German, the rest British, French and American. But the British works are by Shakespeare; no experimentation with more modern British dramatists can be observed.

This situation did not alter in the 1947/48 season although the overall shape of the repertoire altered considerably. The number of plays increased to fourteen but, significantly, the distribution changed so that a total of seven post-war premieres was included. Two of these were themselves world and German premieres: the world premiere was a modern and now little known re-working of the everyman theme, Jedermann 1948 by Willi Schäferdiek; the German premiere was another religious work, T. S. Eliot's Mord im Dom, premiered concurrently in München.⁷⁹ Thus the repertoire this season is built around works dealing with man's situation in the world in relation to God and the concepts of good and evil. This applied not only to the aforementioned plays but also to Urfaust, Das große Welttheater, Die Macht der Finsternis and, to a lesser extent, to Vom Jenseits zurück, Der trojanische Krieg wird nicht stattfinden and Des Teufels General.

The latter works, however, are related by another major theme of this season: the anti-war theme which also embraces Draußen vor der Tür.

It thus emerges that with the exception of Pygmalion wird kuriert all the modern works chosen over the three seasons are interrelated both thematically and to some degree stylistically. Wilder, Claudel, and Obey all integrate the audience into the action on stage; Ardrey, Wilder, Claudel, Obey, and Rice, but also Goethe, Hofmannsthal and even Curt Goetz in his comedy Dr. med. Hiob Praetorius, banish objective reality and open the door to interaction between the real and the surreal, the living and the dead, man and the spirits, man and God.

Comedies are rare in the 1947/48 repertoire. Apart from the Goetz, only Scribe's Ein Glas Wasser provides some light relief in a selection with the smallest actual number and by far the lowest percentage of comedies in the 1947/48 season at any of the theatres examined here. Both the small number of comedies and the considerable emphasis on modern works might be seen as reflecting Maisch's desire to put on serious, new theatre. It is as though he were determined to counteract the restorative nature of his appointment as "Intendant" by a totally new and individual repertoire in his first full season.

Looking at the countries of origin of the plays produced it also proves to be a more international programme than in the previous season: eight German plays, three of them modern, are set against a mixture of three French, one American, one British and one Russian work. The German premiere of Mord im Dom notwithstanding, British plays are not particularly favoured. The most frequently represented foreign works are French and, taking the three seasons together, Köln produced more

plays by French authors than any of the other theatres examined in the British Zone.

It is perhaps symptomatic of the physical destruction of Köln that a repertoire should have been developed revealing a search for meaning and understanding in life. The terrible devastation sent people to the theatre with their questions and the Städtische Bühnen Köln offered works which encouraged debate and sought to provide some of the answers.

Another theatre situated in the Rheinland chose a not unrelated repertoire to cater for the needs of their audiences: the Städtische Bühnen München-Gladbach and Rheydt. One thing differentiated the theatre landscape in these two towns from much of the rest of the Zone: both houses had survived the war. Despite this, the season did not open until 25 December 1945 after Fritz Kranz, another product of the Dumont-Lindemann school in Düsseldorf, had been ~~instated~~ as "Intendant". He had been "Intendant" there once before between 1930 and 1933, had been dismissed by the Nazis and had spent the next twelve years at various theatres, finally becoming "Intendant" in Oberhausen from 1940-1944. München-Gladbach and Rheydt formed a theatre union allowing the production of a large number of plays. Both were municipal houses holding 800 and 670 people respectively serving the 110 000 inhabitants of München-Gladbach and the 70 000 inhabitants of Rheydt. They received subsidies from the two towns and were supported by trades union organizations (800 and 1350 members) and Catholic and municipal youth organizations (3200 and 1350 members).

In 1945/46 (Table XXI) München-Gladbach and Rheydt did not manage to present any modern plays. Iphigenie and Ein Sommernachtstraum

which, just as in Köln, was the opening production, provide the classical part of the repertoire and the other eight plays are a combination of comedies, drama, a thriller and a farce from the late nineteenth, early twentieth centuries. A preference for religious drama can be discerned in the choice of Strindberg's Ostern and Claudel's Die Verkündigung which investigates many Christian themes such as the value of suffering and redemption. The sacrifice of personal happiness for the good of others, which is central to the figure of Violaine in Claudel's play, is a common theme amongst the works produced this season. Zuckmayer's Katharina Knie, for example, breaks her engagement in order to save the circus and Sophie de Courvoisier in Ein Spiel von Liebe und Tod chooses to remain with her husband and face certain death rather than accept his offer to free her so that she can flee with her lover Vallée.

Parallels can be drawn here to Langhoff's first season repertoire in Düsseldorf. Although the plays themselves differ - apart from Iphigenie which is common to both repertoires - the idea of sacrifice is an important feature of both, especially in the figure of a strong woman. This is undoubtedly a result of Kranz's and Langhoff's shared experience as pupils of Louise Dumont who had been famous for her interpretation of Ibsen's female characters which emphasized the emancipatory drive for freedom and self-determination. Furthermore, the influence of Düsseldorf under Dumont in the Twenties can also be seen in the choice of authors and even works. The opening production Ein Sommernachtstraum had been a famous feature of her repertoire which also concentrated on Goethe, Hauptmann, Strindberg etc., all of whom are represented here.

Despite the lack of modern works, the selection is surprisingly international including two British, two French, one American and one Swedish play. This trend is maintained during the following season, although the proportion of German works is higher. Altogether eighteen plays and two "Märchen" were produced, more than half of which are German; the others comprise three French, two American, two British and one Spanish play.

Apart from the huge increase in the actual number of works, it is immediately noticeable that the distribution is different from 1945/46 both with regard to the age of the works and the genre. There are five works premiered after the war and a strong emphasis on classical plays, the temporal bridge only being built by the one new serious production, Hauptmann's Rose Bernd. The classical works are fairly evenly divided into comedies and serious plays including two tragedies: Hamlet and Herodes und Mariamne. There is a similar variety amongst the modern works so that, including the four comedies/farces of the type referred to in Hagen as end of season entertainment, nearly half the productions can be broadly described as comedies although a work like Turandot might also be defined as a "Märchen".

Once again religious plays feature largely this season. On top of Die Verkündigung, which was carried over from 1945/46 and was presented all over the Rheinland in a series of guest performances, Bridie's biblical comedy Tobias und der Engel and Lavery's Die erste Legion are included in the repertoire. To a certain extent Herodes und Mariamne belongs in this category, too, since the setting and characters are biblical and the play ends with Herodes ordering the death of the

baby in Bethlehem. But Hebbel's play is also integrated into another thematic context already determined one season earlier: the idea of sacrifice, suffering and redemption, especially in female figures. In Hebbel's play it is Mariamne who sacrifices herself to her husband's mistrust and jealousy; in O'Neill's Trauer muß Elektra tragen it is also a strong woman, Elektra-Lavinia who, by contrast with the weaker Orest-Orin, does not commit suicide but takes it upon herself to suffer, to pay the penalty for the guilt of the whole family. Strong women feature, too, in Turandot (the princess herself) and in Molina's comedy Don Gil von den grünen Hosen (the disguised Doña Juana) while, by contrast, Rose Bernd is not able to control her life but is rather the victim of her circumstances.

The special emphasis on women is lost in the third post-war season, although one play, Claudel's Der Tausch, is still markedly about women. Together with Lavery's Monsignoren große Stunde, it is representative of the preference for religious works already noted in the previous season. In its moral lesson to live a simple, blameless life Grillparzer's "dramatisches Märchen" Der Traum, ein Leben might also fall into this category or, indeed, Priestley's socially critical examination of behaviour and conscience, Ein Inspektor kommt.

The number of plays is slightly reduced with sixteen productions, five of which belong to the group premiered in Germany after the war, although only four are new productions in 1947/48. There are four classical or post-classical works which is less than in 1946/47 while the number of light comedies has remained constant as has the overall proportion of comedies. The classical works are predominantly German but the rest of the repertoire is overwhelmingly composed of plays from abroad with one Russian, two American, two French and altogether four British works by four different authors. Shakespeare and Shaw are

standard to all the repertoires; Priestley can also be found regularly; Sheridan features for the first time at the houses examined here.

Considering the three seasons together it is undoubtedly one of the most interesting and cohesive programmes in the British Zone, especially when it is remembered that München-Gladbach and Rheydt were ordinary municipal theatres and not specialized houses like the Hamburger Kammerspiele. Despite the fairly high percentage of unambitious comedies, the selection of plays clearly reveals an understanding of the theatre as a "moralische Anstalt" and, it is worth noting, that nearly all the classic and pre-war dramatists recommended by Falk Harnack are represented in Fritz Kranz's repertoires. The degree of concord is not quite so great with regard to the modern works as Harnack, apart from recommending foreign dramatists, argues for the inclusion of German writers like Brecht, Kaiser, Weisenborn and Wolf who are not to be found in München-Gladbach and Rheydt at all. The only modern German work is Mostar's Meier Helmbrecht. It is on this level that criticism could be directed at the repertoire: it fails to confront the immediate past specifically, either by including exiled dramatists or by experimenting with new German authors. To this extent it is not very daring. Nevertheless, by concentrating on more general moral issues it certainly helps to re-examine beliefs and opinions and to offer possible answers to the problems of the post-war situation, above all by encouraging Christian ideals. Clearly people found what they were looking for in the München-Gladbach and Rheydt repertoire: by 1947 the theatres were making such a huge profit that they were able to establish a full opera company without making use of municipal subsidies. People came from far afield to visit the "Zentrum der rheinischen Theaterlandschaft".⁸⁰

München-Gladbach and Rheydt would not be able to maintain this reputation for very long. The Currency Reform abruptly put an end to this golden age of theatre and in the early Fifties, Düsseldorf under Gustaf Gründgens became the unparalleled theatre centre in the west of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Between 1945 and 1948 there were theatres in the British Zone which represented all that was best and worst in post-war theatre, ranging from the essentially restorative, backward-looking repertoires of Bochum to the progressive and experimental work at the Hamburger Kammerspiele. The reasons for the paths chosen by the individual theatres were often related to the personalities in charge and had little to do with the presence of an occupying power. In their Zone the British interfered very little in theatre life and, despite the odd performance of a Coward, a Wilde or a Sheridan, the repertoires do not offer a key to the nationality of the occupying power.

The most remarkable feature in the British Zone is the major role played by minor houses during this period. Hagen or München-Gladbach and Rheydt clearly developed a profile of their own and were well able to flourish alongside the larger and traditionally more distinguished houses. On top of this, it is also worth noting that, by contrast with Konstanz for example, the eventual return of these houses to the status of provincial theatres was brought about not by internal weaknesses or unsuitable repertoires but by the external pressures of the Currency Reform and its financial consequence for the life of the theatre in Germany.

Having examined the situation in the French and British Zones I shall now turn my attention to the state of the theatre in the remaining part of Western Germany: the American Zone.

The first house I have chosen to examine in the American Zone is situated in a completely different environment from the industrial heartland of the British Zone: the Landestheater Coburg is in a predominantly agricultural area on the periphery of the Zone, and the town had a population of ca. 50 000 at the time. The nineteenth-century theatre building which held 900 people had not been destroyed and was able to re-open on 5 October 1945 with Goethe's Die Laune des Verliebten and Molière's Der eingebildete Kranke.⁸¹ The theatre was subsidized by the state of Bayern, ran a subscription scheme with roughly 4000 members, and presented drama, opera, and operetta in Coburg and surrounding towns.

In 1945/46 thirteen plays were produced (Table XXII). None of them had been premiered in Germany after the end of the war but comprised classic and standard works and light entertainment. There is one classic tragedy, Shakespeare's Hamlet, and here, just as in the British and French Zones, Goethe's Iphigenie.

By far the majority of plays are comedies and several of these are relatively unknown German works. It is interesting that, as in Hagen one season later, Maugham's examination of euthanasia for the incurably ill Die heilige Flamme also features here. This sensitive topic caused dissention wherever the play was performed and in Kassel, for example, audience protests included the accusation "Naziideologie".⁸² There is no thematic pattern to the 1945/46 selection. The "Intendant" Walter Stoschek was clearly at pains to re-establish a classical base, to present German drama and to entertain his audience. While Die heilige Flamme shows that he was not afraid of controversial works, it can be seen that the geographical remoteness of Coburg was accompanied by a lack of modern supra-national plays during this season. But it is not a superficial repertoire and in July 1946 Fritz Erpenbeck actually noted

in Theaterdienst:

Coburger Landestheater: Ein Rückblick auf einen Spielplan, der dem jung und verantwortungsbewußt geleiteten Theater alle Ehre macht und der für die nächste Spielzeit bei vervollständigtem Ensemble zu den höchsten Erwartungen berechtigt.⁸³

In the second post-war season eleven plays were produced but the distribution was very different from 1945/46. The traditional Landestheater dedication to classical works was maintained with Die Räuber, Ein Sommernachtstraum and Dame Kobold but now four plays are featured which had first been produced in Germany after the war, including the world premiere of a local work, Sibylle Freybe's Ein kleines Leben. Friedrich Michael's comedy on the Amphytryon theme, Ausflug mit Damen, and Wolf's Professor Mamlock complete the selection of modern German works, and Unsere kleine Stadt is the first modern American play to be performed in Coburg. The rest of the works comprise two standard comedies by blacklisted authors, Hokuspokus by Curt Goetz and Sturm im Wasserglas by Bruno Frank, the thriller Gaslicht and Hofmannsthal's Jedermann.

This selection is bound by a network of thematic and stylistic relationships. There is the idea of the theatre as a forum or courtroom in which the audience is integrated into the action and the divisions between stage and auditorium are removed. This is not only the case in Unsere kleine Stadt but also in Hokuspokus, where the audience in the theatre become the observers of a murder trial. A trial is also central to Sturm im Wasserglas, which is a combination of "Volksstück" and political satire, revolving around an unpaid dog-licence and the resulting conflict between the establishment and the ordinary woman from humble circumstances who owns the offending "Foxl". It is also common to both these comedies

and, to a certain extent, to Ausflug mit Damen, that serious topics are treated humorously, an unusual feature in German dramatic literature and specific to a small group of authors all born within a few years of each other (Frank: 1887; Goetz: 1888; Michael: 1892). The idea of a court of judgment is, however, also present in Jedermann in which Gott sends Der Tod to bring Jedermann to stand trial at His throne. Hofmannsthal's play was performed in the open air at the castle in Coburg.

Clearly Walter Stoschek was singularly successful both in selecting related works and balancing his repertoire between the serious and humorous treatment of these topics with a definite emphasis on the works of German authors. These criteria are retained in 1947/48 but the scope is extended to include a higher proportion of foreign plays and the distribution is yet again different from 1946/47. Only one new classical production, Nathan der Weise, was put on in a repertoire of nine plays. By contrast to the previous season the three modern works all came from abroad. Here too, however, it is interesting to determine an individuality in the selection: one Russian, one Swiss and one American play, a combination even the big houses did not achieve. With Nestroy's Lumpacivagabundus, Hauptmann's Die Weber, as well as Molnár's Spiel im Schloß and Shaw's Die heilige Johanna, the whole repertoire is extended in time and nationality to embrace an early nineteenth century Viennese farce, a late nineteenth century work of German Naturalism, a Hungarian comedy and a British historical drama from the Twenties.

Once again clear relationships emerge suggesting a carefully and thoughtfully constructed repertoire. Communication between the real and the spiritual world, which already featured in 1946/47, can also be found in Die heilige Johanna, in the "Zauberposse" Lumpacivagabundus, as well as in each of the works premiered post-war.

It is to Coburg's credit that it should have been the first theatre in the Western Zones to produce Schwarz's "Märchen"-comedy Der Schatten, which had been a huge success in Berlin under Gründgens the previous season, and one of the first to undertake Frisch's Nun singen sie wieder. Like Professor Mamlock this attempt to confront the audience directly with the events of the present and the immediate past did not find undivided approbation. In Coburg, as elsewhere, there were plenty of people who did not wish to be reminded of their responsibility for what had happened and preferred to put the past behind them. For Stoschek this was both predictable and irrelevant.⁸⁴ He did not construct his repertoires to please these members of the audience.

It immediately becomes apparent that in the American Zone, just as in the case of Konstanz in the French, and Hagen in the British Zones, a theatre which had not previously enjoyed any particular reputation was able to develop an individual and ambitious repertoire, stretching the potential of theatre and audience to its limits. "Intendanten" like Stoschek grasped the opportunity offered by the "Stunde Null" to revitalize and re-define theatre in the provinces. He was not afraid to take the initiative with a world, or Western Zones premiere nor did he wait until works had proven themselves elsewhere before taking them on. Furthermore, there is no suggestion of exceptional American influence on the repertoire although, of the four modern

foreign plays, two are American and more than half of all the modern plays had been premiered in the American Zone or Sector of Berlin. Indeed, this is the one cause for criticism of an otherwise adventurous selection: there are no modern British or French works at all. In the second and third post-war seasons not a single French play could be seen in Coburg. It is, however, worth noting that to a greater extent than the other provincial theatres discussed so far, Coburg took note of developments in Berlin. Thus three of the post-war premieres in the Coburg repertoire had first been performed in Berlin, a higher percentage than at any of the other houses examined. Another interesting feature in Coburg is the diminishing number of classical works over the three seasons; elsewhere the number increased or remained steady.⁸⁵ It is an indication that in Coburg reconstruction became increasingly less restorative and more innovative, attempting to create a theatre in touch with the needs of the immediate post-war era.

A Landestheater had existed in Darmstadt too. Together with more than half the town it had been totally destroyed and after the war performances were held in the "Orangerie" which seated about 600 people. In 1945/46 the theatre was still known as the Hessisches Landestheater and received subsidies from Hessen and from the Darmstadt municipal authorities. Despite the enormous loss of life - 12 000 people were killed during one night of bombing in September 1944 - 100 000 still lived in Darmstadt; the theatre also served the surrounding areas taking guest performances as far afield as Gießen and Heidelberg. A trades union "Kulturbund" with 700 members supported the theatre.

The reconstruction of theatre in Darmstadt after the war was extremely turbulent due to a huge fluctuation in personnel. The 1945/46 season opened on 15 December 1945 with Goethe's Iphigenie directed by Karlheinz Stroux. He had spent the last years of the Hitler regime with Gründgens in Berlin and, it can be speculated, was just filling a gap by becoming "Oberspielleiter" in Darmstadt in the late Autumn of 1945. His presence attracted very good actors and actresses, such as Maria Pierenkämper and Arthur Mentz, and he was also able to obtain important new works including two German premieres: Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen and Antigone. Within a matter of months Darmstadt became one of the leading theatres in the American Zone.

Looking at the 1945/46 repertoire (Table XXIII) in detail a well-balanced repertoire emerges of the type only achieved by other theatres in the third post-war season. Classical works and post-1945 premieres are equally represented, as are comedy and serious drama; the majority of plays are German but foreign works are not neglected either with Dame Kobold and Ein Strich geht durchs Zimmer to accompany the Wilder and the Anouilh. There is also a modern German play, Weisenborn's Die Illegalen, which received its world premiere in Berlin less than eight weeks before the Darmstadt production. It is a stunning first post-war season but not actually related thematically, nor quite as original as would appear at first sight. Stroux had directed Der Parasit, for example, in 1942/43 at the Staatstheater am Gendarmenmarkt. Rather it is a collection of plays for all occasions - not excluding an "Antifa" work, a Christmas production and Emil und die Detektive for the children - bearing witness to Stroux's supreme competence and confidence as a theatre director.

It was certainly an act of daring to present such a modern and intellectual repertoire in the provinces especially as it was not built up gradually over two or three seasons but set before Darmstadt audiences within a few months of the end of the war. As early as April 1946 Erich Kästner speculated whether Darmstadt would manage to retain Stroux.⁸⁶ In view of the poor conditions for performance it would have taken exceptional will on all sides. Stroux did leave at the end of the 1945/46 season taking nearly all the actors and actresses with him but, what is significant, is that he did not go to Berlin but to the Hessisches Staatstheater at Wiesbaden. Although it was a state theatre it might still be described as provincial in relation to Berlin. Once again such a move was symptomatic of the shift away from Berlin as the leading theatre centre in Germany. In January 1947 Kästner, who was one of the few writers able to travel between the Zones at this time, expressed the opinion that 'der Unterschied im Aufführungsniveau zwischen den angesehenen Bühnen der Provinz und den besten Berliner Theatern verschwunden ist. Das "Provinzgefälle" existiert zur Zeit nicht',⁸⁷ Productions like Stroux's Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen, Antigone and Die Illegalen in Darmstadt were easily able to compete with comparable productions in Berlin.

The 1946/47 season in Darmstadt signalled the second new beginning after the war. Not only did Stroux and most of the actors leave, but as the Darmstädter Echo reported:

Kurz hintereinander traten zu Beginn der Spielzeit der damalige Intendant Wilhelm Henrich, der Verwaltungsdirektor Dr Paul Sander und der Chefdramaturg und Leiter des künstlerischen Betriebsbüros, Dr Curt Michell, aus Gesundheitsrücksichten von ihren Ämtern zurück.⁸⁸

Hence the 1946/47 season was planned and opened in a state of flux which only settled down when Dr. Walter Jockisch was appointed "Intendant". Despite such difficulties, or perhaps because of them, sixteen plays and one "Märchen" were produced, considerably more than in either the previous or the following seasons. Once again there are no clear thematic relationships and it is a selection of popular works interspersed with more unusual productions: Ingeborg, Ein Spiel von Tod und Liebe, Herr Lamberthier, and Leuchtfeuer were performed throughout the American Zone and, it has already been seen that together with Ein Glas Wasser, Sturm im Wasserglas and to a lesser extent Im sechsten Stock, they were frequently performed in all the Zones. Much less common are the classical works chosen, and Hauptmann's Iphigenie in Delphi which was not performed at any of the other houses examined. In the chronology of Greek mythology the events covered by Hauptmann's play follow those in Iphigenie auf Tauris. In this way a continuity with the previous season is achieved and, as Hauptmann's play belonged to the first in the 1946/47 season, such continuity was undoubtedly planned. Amongst the classical works the most unusual are Wie es Euch gefällt, only seen in Bochum, and Dantons Tod, only otherwise produced in Hamburg and Mannheim.

The four post-war premieres of the season comprise two American, one German and one French play although altogether five French plays feature. Besides Leuchtfeuer it is interesting to observe that Odets's Die das Leben ehren was also selected in Darmstadt since, as was described earlier, Odets's works were proscribed by the American authorities. It was premiered in Bremen in September 1946 and came out in Darmstadt in November. No references to the production could be found but a contradiction does emerge in the relevant documentation held by the

"Landesbibliothek Darmstadt". The play is mentioned in two performance lists: in the printed lists of first productions ten performances are registered, the highest number for any play that season; in the typed, hand-annotated lists collated by the theatre at the time, however, only three performances are mentioned, well below the usual number.⁸⁹ The figures cited for the other plays all correspond. The confusion may relate to the fact that, as a result of the cramped conditions in Darmstadt and its status as a Land theatre, a total of 74 guest performances were given during the 1946/47 season,⁹⁰ but this would not explain why it is only the figures for this play which do not coincide. Nor was I able to find any confirmation for the conjecture that the American authorities might have intervened to prevent performances. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that in the first two post-war seasons all the plays produced in Darmstadt which had been premiered after the war were either American and/or had been premiered in the American Zone or Sector of Berlin (see Table IX). This is the highest degree of congruence yet determined between repertoire and occupying power. On the one hand this preference may be explained by the availability of texts, on the other it should be remembered that the Landestheater Coburg also presented four post-war premieres in the 1946/47 season, only one of which had been premiered in the American Zone and one in the American Sector of Berlin. But, as has been seen, Coburg had a much clearer concept of what it wanted to achieve and took time to develop and turn ideas into reality.

At the end of the second post-war season, the "Dramaturg" Friedrich Karl Wittich, writing in the Darmstädter Echo, summarized

the expectations the theatre aimed to fulfil with its 1947/48 repertoire:

... das Alte zu pflegen, sich mit den geistigen Kräften unserer Zeit auseinanderzusetzen, den Zuschauer zu ergreifen und zu erschüttern, zu unterhalten, zu entspannen und auf breiter Grundlage eine fruchtbare Diskussion über die künstlerische Gestaltung der Fragen und Probleme zu ermöglichen, denen sich die Menschheit heute gegenübersteht.⁹¹

The twelve plays and one "Märchen" chosen for this 1947/48 repertoire fulfil some of these expectations more completely than others. There are only two classical works, one tragedy and one drama, and both occur frequently in the German repertoires of the time, especially Hamlet. In the statistics for the period 1947 to 1975 Hamlet can be found in eleventh place amongst the most popular plays in the Federal Republic of Germany⁹² and comes second only to Was ihr wollt amongst Shakespeare's plays.⁹³ The first four most popular Shakespeare plays during this later period - Was ihr wollt, Hamlet, Ein Sommernachtstraum, and Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung - were also the most popular at the theatres examined here between 1945 and 1948.

If the number of classical works is surprisingly low, the number of works premiered post-war is high: five out of twelve. There is one world premiere, Phädra by Bernard von Brentano about which little is known. Although Brentano, who was born in Offenbach in 1901 of the famous literary family, is cited in Wilpert's Deutsches Dichterlexikon, the play Phädra is not included in his listed works.⁹⁴ Of the other four works Unsere kleine Stadt and Der Soldat Tanaka might be said to confront the audience with the "geistigen Kräften" of the time, conceivably to move or to affect them, and Unsere kleine Stadt also provides material for discussing the artistic realization of contemporary problems,

but clearly in this season entertainment and relaxation are the categories receiving the most attention. Two modern comedies are included, Das Lied der Taube and Ausflug mit Damen, and five other German comedies ranging from farce to musical comedy and from local folk comedy to historical comedy.

This thematically unrelated selection is symptomatic of a theatre which has not found its place in the post-war situation. It is gradually returning to the traditional role of a Land theatre despite the high proportion of modern works. The repertoire makes considerable concessions to the undemanding sections of the audience, offering only a minimum of difficult and problematic works. Wherever this is the case, the majority of plays tend to be German, i.e. domestic, as has been seen in the case of the Bonn Neue Kammerspiele. Here, too, nine of the twelve works are German/Austrian. The only foreign plays - leaving aside Shakespeare - are once again American, confirming the trend registered in the previous two seasons to concentrate on the dramatic literature of the occupying power.

It has been revealed that the status achieved by a theatre is closely linked to the personalities responsible for drama and that stability in the leadership of a house contributes greatly to reconstruction. In this respect Darmstadt suffered from having and losing a major personality in the first post-war season. However, the problem was not solved with the appointment of Dr. Walter Jockisch. In 1948 Dr. Sigmund Skraup took over as "Intendant"; Jockisch went to Stuttgart as "Oberspielleiter" for the opera and even the "Dramaturg" Wittich left and went to Münster. With so much fluctuation continuity was impossible, and the Currency Reform meant yet another new beginning in Darmstadt.

In the city of Frankfurt all the buildings making up the Städtische Bühnen had been destroyed during the war. In 1945/46 a total of five different venues served as homes for dramatic performances. The "Sendesaal" which opened on 5 September with Goetz's Ingeborg was succeeded by the 500-seat "Börsensaal" on 3 November. Productions also took place in the "Handwerkersaal", another part of the trades union building, the 450-seat "Kleines Komödienhaus" and during the Summer of 1946 in the open air at the "Karmeliter-Kloster". In view of the temporary and highly improvised conditions it is remarkable that Frankfurt should have been one of the first theatres to recommence business as usual and to present a repertoire exceeded in numbers only by Konstanz. The Städtische Bühnen were subsidized by the municipal authorities and supported by a 2200-strong "Volksbühne" organization. Plays were presented in Offenbach and Langen as well as to the 443 000 inhabitants of Frankfurt itself.

Sixteen plays, a "Märchen", as well as a number of cabaret, dialect and selection evenings make up the 1945/46 repertoire (Table XXIV). Amongst the classic and various nineteenth-and twentieth-century plays there are no very remarkable inclusions to differentiate Frankfurt from other comparable houses discussed. One feature is, however, extraordinary: five of the plays are among those in the category premiered after the war, including one German premiere, Anouilh's Eurydike, and all of them are dramas rather than comedies. This is all the more surprising in the light of the fact that the "Intendant" responsible for drama at this time was Toni Impekoven and he was known as an author and director of light comedies. The rest of the repertoire reflects this much more directly with works ranging from Was ihr wollt and Der eingebildete Kranke

to Ingeborg, Aimée and so on. Not only the number of works - five is both in actual terms and as a percentage the highest number of post-war premieres produced at any of the theatres examined in the 1945/46 season - but also the nationality of these works is unusual: one French, two American, two German. The French and American plays have already been mentioned at other houses; Der Gärtner von Toulouse and Der Flüchtling feature for the first time and it is interesting to note that they are not unrelated. Hochwälder's play is based on an original sketch for a play by Kaiser dating from 1944, and Hochwälder's work was revised by Kaiser in 1945. His own play, Der Gärtner von Toulouse, was premiered in Mannheim less than two weeks before the Frankfurt production and stands as the first of a whole series of plays which were put on by both these theatres. In this season alone Mannheim produced five works which were subsequently also presented by Frankfurt (Jedermann, Der Gärtner von Toulouse, Ein Spiel von Tod und Liebe, Das Abgründige in Herrn Gerstenberg, Herr Lamberthier) while Spiel im Schloß came out in Frankfurt prior to Mannheim. As will be seen, this trend was maintained in the following season too. Such a classic example of one theatre adopting another's productions led to considerable critical discontent and justified complaints about the monotony of repertoires. 'Man ahmt nach, statt zu planen!'⁹⁵ as Fritz Erpenbeck determined in 1947.

Despite the variety of countries represented by the new works it is worth noting that, just as in Darmstadt, with the exception of Unsere kleine Stadt, they had all been premiered in the American Zone or Sector of Berlin. As has already been described, so little was known about the actual German premiere of Wilder's play at the Deutsches Theater, that in the American Zone it was generally held that it had

received its German premiere in München. Adherence to works premiered in one's own Zone, which was encouraged by the fact that movement was so restricted, further contributed to the monotony of the repertoires. In 1948 the President of the actors' trades union Erich Otto appealed to the occupying powers to allow greater mobility between the Zones:

Die beklagenswerte Zonenabspernung erschwert, ja verhindert vielfach den möglichen Kultur- und Theateraufbau (...) Die Abdrosselung und die bestehenden Reiseerschwerungen führen zu einer Stagnation des Spielplans und der Theaterentwicklung.⁹⁶

In the 1946/47 season five plays were produced in Frankfurt which had already been seen in Mannheim and one production, Diener zweier Herren, was put on by Frankfurt first. Although in the cases of Nathan or Ein Spiel von Tod und Liebe which were produced almost everywhere, such repetition might be ascribed to coincidence, this was certainly not so with regard to much less frequently performed works such as Der Nobelpreis or the comedy Ja, mein Liebling.

The absence of a clear programme of its own in Frankfurt reflects the lack of stability at the theatre here, too. Heinz Hilpert had come from Hamburg to become "Chefintendant" of the entire Städtische Bühnen, and responsibility for drama was passed from Toni Impekoven, who was ill and died in May 1947, to Richard Weichert. Weichert, who was another product of the Dumont-Lindemann school in Düsseldorf, had been "Intendant" in Frankfurt between 1918 and 1932 and credit for the development of Frankfurt as an important theatre centre between the wars was generally accorded to him. Like Hilpert, who had been "Intendant" at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin, he had spent the war

years moving back and forth between Berlin and Wien but, unlike Hilpert, he now settled in Frankfurt and gradually re-introduced stability and a clearer conception. Hilpert, having been acquitted by the de-nazification court in Wiesbaden after writers like Ernst Wiechert and Carl Zuckmayer had provided him with exonerating references, was unable to settle in Frankfurt and resigned in February 1948, leaving to take over from Wolfgang Engels in Konstanz.

It was in this context of impermanence that the second and third post-war seasons were planned and carried through, and it goes some way to explaining the lack of originality especially in the 1946/47 repertoire. During this season seventeen plays are included, fairly distributed between serious drama and comedy with an emphasis on modern works. The German classics are strongly represented by Goethe, Schiller and Lessing. There is no new Shakespeare production this season, the British works featured being Gaslicht, which was more popular in the American than the British Zone, and Intimitäten which, amongst the theatres surveyed here, was only put on in Bochum. In fact a Shakespeare play had been planned and rehearsed for this season but was cancelled shortly before the premiere since its intended inclusion was described by one commentator as 'Instinklosigkeit (...) ein grober psychologischer Fehler'.⁹⁷ The play was one of the great taboos of the post-war years, Der Kaufmann von Venedig. The first production after the war did not take place until 1952/53 in Bochum (director: Hans Schalla; Shylock: Hanns-Ernst Jäger) although it was not until Ernst Deutsch's portrayal of Shylock in Stroux's 1957 production in Düsseldorf that the play became more generally acceptable. As late as March 1967, however, Friedrich Luft noted: 'Das Stück bleibt nach Auschwitz unspielbar'.⁹⁸

The 1946/47 programme comprises seven works premiered after May 1945 including two world premieres of German plays unknown today: Curt Riess's Entscheidung and Hermann Himstedt's Söhne. It is worth noting that at a time when many complaints could be heard about the failure to produce new and unknown German works, Frankfurt's decision to present two from this category in one season should be recognized as an act of daring and originality going some way to counterbalancing the straightforward adoption of successes from elsewhere, although, once again, this was a distinction Frankfurt shared with Mannheim. Nor could it be claimed that the foreign works premiered after 1945 were established successes by the time they came to Frankfurt either. Trauer muß Elektra tragen received its German premiere in Hamburg just one day before it opened in Frankfurt (11 April/12 April 1947) and many commentators referred to Stroux's Frankfurt production as the German premiere.⁹⁹

Although in the repertoire for the season overall a variety of nationalities is represented, of the four modern foreign works only one is French, the rest are all American. Furthermore, all seven plays, excepting the special case of Trauer muß Elektra tragen, were premiered in the American Zone. Just as in Darmstadt, the degree of congruence between works and occupying power is considerably greater than at any of the theatres examined in the British Zone.

Just as in Darmstadt too, however, this situation did change in 1947/48 when of the six plays premiered post-war, only three had been premiered in the American Zone or Sector, two in the British Zone and one in the Soviet Sector of Berlin. The whole repertoire is quite different from the previous two seasons and is more characteristic of a chamber theatre than a municipal house. Such a definite change

can certainly be ascribed to the influence of Richard Weichert who radically reduced the number of new productions to nine and concentrated heavily on new, especially German works. Don Carlos is the only new classical production; Shaw's Man kann nie wissen the only other play premiered before 1945. The only other house with a comparable repertoire is the Hamburger Kammerspiele, although even there the number of works premiered post-war in the 1947/48 repertoire was less than in Frankfurt.

Over and above this, there is no longer any suggestion of copying Mannheim. Only two common productions feature at all this season, one of which is Des Teufels General which was put on all over Germany anyway, and both were performed in Frankfurt before they came out in Mannheim.

Apart from Shaw's earlier work there are only two comedies in the list, Rose Franken's Claudia, which had been dismissed in Berlin for its sugary irrelevance,¹⁰⁰ and Hermann Gressieker's Der Regenbogen which failed to establish itself in the repertoires. If Weichert was not especially successful in his choice of comedies this merely reflects the fact that his main interest lies in the field of problematic, serious drama dealing with concepts like freedom and human value, and confronting the events in Germany's recent history. Thus besides Don Carlos the selection includes Ein Inspektor kommt and Das Abgründige in Herrn Gerstenberg as well as the plays specifically dealing with National Socialism, Professor Mamlock and Des Teufels General. On top of this, a collection of poems by Horst Lommer, who had been an actor at the Staatstheater in Berlin between 1929 and 1944, were performed entitled Das Tausendjährige Reich. His verses had been written during

this period as the events took place, as had those combining to create a "Kabarett" from the period with texts by Kästner, von Ambesser and others.

Taking the three seasons together it emerges that an astounding total of eighteen works premiered after 1945 were produced, four more than at the Hamburger Kammerspiele, and the trend is clearly away from a rather eclectic and opportunist selection to a planned and structured repertoire intended to provide a forum for serious issues. With Weichert's stability came to Frankfurt but his restoration did not signal a return to the traditional role of a municipal theatre but to the experimental type of theatre he had encouraged in the Twenties when he championed Hasenclever, Brecht and Bronnen. Thus far it was indeed restoration but restoration of a progressive kind.

In view of the special connexions observed between Frankfurt and Mannheim in the first two post-war seasons I have chosen to deviate from the strictly alphabetical method applied so far and examine Mannheim at this point. Mannheim had also been badly bombed but had not suffered quite so much as Frankfurt which, nevertheless had roughly twice the population of Mannheim. Here, too, the historical theatre buildings of the Nationaltheater had been destroyed on 5 September 1943 and as from 11 November 1945 performances were held in the refurbished "Lichtspielhaus Schauburg" which held 960 people. Although functioning as a municipal theatre presenting drama, opera and operetta the Nationaltheater was subsidized by the Land Württemberg-Baden due to its tradition as a national theatre dating back to 1779. The world premiere of Schiller's Die Räuber took place here on 13 January 1782, a heritage Mannheim theatre people frequently allude to in the post-war period.¹⁰¹

It is thus all the more surprising that Mannheim, far from re-opening with a play by Schiller in 1945, did not even include a play of his in the first post-war repertoire (Table XXV). It verges on the incredible, however, that it was not only Schiller who did not feature this season: there is not one single classical play in the programme. Nor is it a repertoire dedicated to post-war premieres like the 1945/46 season at the Hamburger Kammerspiele which is the only other house reviewed not to include classical works. There are but two plays premiered after the war amongst the nine works and one of these is a world premiere, Kaiser's Der Gärtner von Toulouse.

The season opened with Jedermann - Hofmannsthal was a favourite choice for official re-openings - and otherwise presents popular works evenly divided between serious drama and comedy with a definite emphasis on German drama. Three foreign plays feature, two of which are French and both extremely popular at the time: Rolland's Ein Spiel von Tod und Liebe and Verneuil's Herr Lamberhier; the other is Hungarian and equally as favoured, Molnár's Spiel im Schloß. The plays are not related thematically and can be judged as a hurried and eclectic selection intended to get the theatre going again. There is no suggestion of planning or a concept underpinning the choice. It reflects the fact that the theatre did not yet have a permanent "Intendant". During 1945/46 Carl Onno Eisenbart held the position. In the following season Erich Kronen took over.

Kronen's arrival did signal a change in the repertoire. The 1946/47 season opened, for example, with Don Carlos and also saw productions of Goldoni's Diener zweier Herren and Lessing's Nathan der Weise; but no Shakespeare. Mannheim was one of only three of the

theatres examined here not to include a Shakespeare play in the first two post-war repertoires.¹⁰² Another unusual aspect of the selection is that all the modern plays are either world or German premieres: the two American comedies Ja, mein Liebling and Biographie und Liebe were subsequently performed at a number of other theatres while neither Mary Hayley-Bell's Zwei Hände nor Arnold Schwab's Der Morgen really established places for themselves in the repertoires. Just as in Frankfurt, however, it can be seen that Kronen was prepared to experiment with a new German play.

The emphasis of the 1946/47 programme is on comedy. Apart from the works already mentioned there is a trio of Russian comedies/farces, another farce by the authors of Die spanische Fliege, Arnold and Bach, and Feiler's Die sechste Frau. Although the choice cannot be accused of being superficial it reveals more of the theatre as a place of entertainment and distraction than as a "moralische Anstalt" especially as, with the exception of Die Troerinnen, there is no attempt to confront the problems of the present or the immediate past.

It is a much more international selection than in 1945/46 including Russian, Italian, Swedish, British and, one season before the famous production at the Hamburger Kammerspiele, Euripides's/Werfel's Greek tragedy Die Troerinnen. There are no French works at all. Even one season later in 1947/48 only one French play figures in the repertoire: following Frankfurt, Giraudoux's Der trojanische Krieg findet nicht statt although, according to Die Quelle, a whole series of French works had been planned for this season as well as plays by Brecht, Wilder and Eliot.¹⁰⁴ For the reasons described so precisely by

the Hamburg "Dramaturg" Gerd Omar Leutner, realizing planned repertoires, especially with regard to foreign plays, was often extremely difficult. In Mannheim the situation was complicated by a further change of "Intendant". Erich Kronen exchanged positions with Richard Dornseiff who was "Intendant" of the opera in Bremen. Opera was strictly Kronen's major interest while Dornseiff placed more emphasis on drama.

The objectives of the Nationaltheater Mannheim were now formulated as follows:

Das Mannheimer Nationaltheater hat sich unter seiner neuen Leitung für das Schauspiel die intensive Pflege der zeitgenössischen Weltdramatik neben der klassischen Literatur zur Aufgabe gemacht und nimmt damit die Aufgabe wieder auf, welche die Manheimer (sic) Bühne berühmt gemacht hat, als sie dem jungen Schiller den Weg auf die Bühne öffnete.¹⁰⁴

In 1947/48 thirteen plays were produced and the distribution does reflect the above priorities. There are three classical works including Shakespeare, and Nathan was carried over from the previous season. Five plays fall into the category of contemporary world drama, two are German including one world premiere which, however, only received two performances, one French, one British and one Swiss. Just as at other theatres in the Zone these plays demonstrate the self-sufficiency of the American Zone in the provision of works introduced into Germany after the war: with the exception of Des Teufels General which was supposed to be premiered in Frankfurt, all these works had first been put on in Germany in the American Zone. Nevertheless, when it is remembered which plays were available for performance by this time it is remarkable that Anouilh, O'Neill, Wilder, but also Brecht, Bruckner,

Weisenborn and Wolf are missing entirely. The problematic German exile authors are avoided, although the past is tackled in Des Teufels General and Nun singen sie wieder. In this respect, the comparison with Schiller takes on an ironic perspective: the writers who are considered to be as subversive as Schiller was thought to be in the 1780s - especially those of the Left - do not feature in the repertoire. It is a varied modern selection; it takes account of varying interests, and attempts to introduce audiences to international drama but, in the context of taking a repertoire to the limits of its possibilities, it falls short of the objectives it set itself.

From Mannheim with its quarter of a million inhabitants I want to return to Gießen which numbered a population of roughly 43 000 at the time and is thus the 'smallest town to be examined in the American Zone. The theatre had not been destroyed although it had burnt out in December 1944; altogether more than 50% of the town had been flattened in the bombing. It was a traditional municipal theatre, supported by the civic authorities but in the post-war period also fulfilling some of the duties of a Land theatre by giving guest performances at a host of smaller towns in the vicinity. Immediately after the war actors and theatre people got together and formed 'eine freie Arbeitsgemeinschaft'¹⁰⁵ until it was decided to clear and refurbish the turn of the century theatre building which opened on 15 November 1945 with Goethe's Faust. Precisely what the 'freie Arbeitsgemeinschaft' performed is difficult to establish since little documentation has survived. From a private theatre enthusiast's list of the productions he had seen, compiled on 5 April 1948, it appears that at least two comedies/farces were produced: Bradley's Kopf in der Schlinge and Thomas's Charleys Tante,¹⁰⁶ neither of which feature in the official repertoire for the first post-war season.

Only six productions are actually registered for 1945/46 ¹⁰⁷ (Table XXVI) which, especially by comparison with the following two seasons, is a very small number. The operetta did not open until 1946/47 so the theatre could be used exclusively for drama. On closer inspection, however, it becomes clear that the plays chosen are of such scope as to defy criticism of the quantity. Apart from the Neue Kammerspiele Bonn, Gießen is the only theatre surveyed to present Faust I in the first post-war season - several theatres chose Urfaust and Stuttgart included Faust I in 1946/47 - and the sole theatre to use the play for the official opening. Another major production also comes from the canon of German classical theatre literature: Lessing's Emilia Galotti.

Provisional "Intendant" at the Theater der Stadt during 1945/46 was Kurt Sauerland after it had been decided that the former "Intendant" Anton Ludwig should not be re-instated. Together with the "Dramaturg" Dr. Curt Michell, who later moved to the Bremer Kammerspiele while Sauerland remained in Gießen as "Spielleiter", he managed to initiate a repertoire which reveals a strongly socially critical consciousness. This applies not only to Lessing's play but to Schnitzler's Liebelei which is also thematically related, and of course, to Gorki's Nachtsyl. After Saarbrücken this is the only other production of Gorki's play registered. It was a strange and rather risky choice in 1945/46 portraying as it does a dead-end underworld society from which all hope is removed. The parallels to contemporary conditions were intended to shock the audience into recognizing their own situation and doing something about it, but it was an approach which might have misfired. As Wolfgang Langhoff had noted in Düsseldorf it was necessary not only 'zu richten' but

'aufzurichten'.¹⁰⁸ Unfortunately there is no documentation for the reactions of Gießen audiences. 'Aufzurichten' is precisely the effect of Ardrey's Leuchtfeuer which besides the musical comedy Bezauberndes Fräulein completed the selection for this season with a work premiered after the war. When it is borne in mind that many houses were not able to present plays from this category until the following season the achievement of the interim leadership in Gießen is all the more remarkable. On top of this they created a cosmopolitan repertoire in spite of the small number of productions. Looking forward to the second post-war repertoire, Theaterdienst was able to report with justification; 'Das Theater der Stadt Gießen versucht somit in jeder Weise seiner Mission als wesentlicher Kulturträger gerecht zu werden.'¹⁰⁹

For 1946/47 a permanent "Intendant" was appointed, Dr. Gerd Briese, although he only stayed for two seasons before becoming "Intendant" in Oldenburg. Including four light comedies put on during the Summer of 1947, an astounding twenty-three plays and two "Märchen" were produced during his first year at Gießen which is an absolute record in terms of numbers for all the theatres examined here. This trend reflected the traditional role of the municipal theatre which, before the war, had been used to presenting a far greater number of productions per season than became usual in the post-war era. The repertoire is not only big in relation to quantity, there are also several weighty productions.

The strong representation of classical and post-classical works is similarly consistent with the traditional role of a municipal theatre: Grillparzer, Hebbel, Lessing, Molière and Schiller all feature, equally divided between comedy, tragedy and drama. Just as in Mannheim Shakespeare is notably absent. The role of Nathan in Lessing's

dramatic poem was played by the great German actor Paul Wegener giving a guest performance, and Gießen also attracted guest directors such as Ernst Karchow from Frankfurt who directed two of the modern plays to be seen this season: Galgenfrist and Antigone.

Altogether six plays feature from the category premiered post-war and three of these are world or German premieres. The German premiere is Kaiser's rarely performed re-working of the David and Goliath theme, the comedy Das Los des Ossian Balvesen; the two world premieres are Treichlinger's comedy Göttin, versuche die Menschen nicht and Waldemar Fischer's topical contemporary drama Heimkehr. It gradually emerges that to a greater extent than in either the French or the British Zones, theatres in the American Zone were prepared to allow German authors an opportunity to see their work performed. Very few of these works have survived as standard repertoire plays and, even at the time, seldom experienced more than a few performances at just the one theatre.

Heimkehr notwithstanding, the "Oberspielleiter" in Gießen Herbert Schneider was actually of the opinion: 'Die Zeit ist noch nicht reif. Wir sind den Ereignissen noch zu nahe, um sie schon künstlerisch Gestalt werden zu lassen'.¹¹⁰ He thought it was the duty of the theatre to present "Zeitkunst" which meant that whatever was being produced must relate to the present since actors and audiences could only act and respond in the terms of their own time. During this season Schneider was responsible for the two post-classical German tragedies both of which he conceived as modern plays without modernizing them. In Medea the audience was supposed to recognize:

daß der Volksheld Jason eigentlich doch
nur ein wildgewordener Spießer
ist, der nun, nachdem er in seiner Laufbahn
Schiffbruch erlitt, mit Heulen und
Zähneklappern sich dort verkriecht, von
wo er ausging und wo er hingehört: einem
Kreis unfähiger, vom Größenwahn getriebener,
verbrecherischer Volksverführer, wie
wir sie - ach, vor gar nicht allzu langer
Zeit - im eigenen Lande zur Genüge kennenlernten.¹¹¹

The reactions of the audience led Schneider to believe that they
had understood precisely what he intended and proved themselves capable
of reacting to the educative contents of classical works for the
present:

Als sich am Pfingstsonntag 1947 im Theater
der Stadt Gießen der Vorhang über dem letzten
Akt von Grillparzers Medea hob, wurde im
Zuschauerraum eine Stimme laut: "Die sind
ausgebombt". Ein Publikum, das so unmittel-
bar empfindet, ist das, was das deutsche
Theater braucht.¹¹²

The example of Medea is important for a number of reasons: it was
important to Schneider as a modern, relevant, topical work and as a
gauge of audience receptivity. Schneider was not naive enough to
believe everyone understood and sanctioned his interpretation but
the reaction was positive enough for him to recognize the theatre
functioning as a "moralische Anstalt". From a current research
point of view it is revealing to find evidence for the concerns of
the time being absorbed into classic productions since the relative
lack of new topical German drama combined with the commentators'
criticisms regarding the theatres' failure to encourage German
dramatists, imply a more general unwillingness to confront the
problems than was actually true in individual cases. As the Gießen
repertoire shows, topical productions of classical plays are not to be
found in isolation but as part of an integrated concept of repertoire.
A programme of light-weight comedies and drama unrelated to the times

would not include topical interpretations of classical works. Thus the 1946/47 Gießen selection includes modern topical plays like Heimkehr or Antigone but also comedies and serious drama concerned with social criticism such as Shaw's Pygmalion, Zuckmayer's "Deutsches Märchen" Der Hauptmann von Köpenick or Hauptmann's Rose Bernd.

Although the majority of works are German it is not a narrowly nationalistic selection. Four French plays, two American, one British, one Austrian and one Hungarian are featured but, as has been shown typical for the American Zone, all the new plays had been premiered within the Zone apart from Drei Mann auf einem Pferd which received its German premiere in the American Sector of Berlin.

One season later Gießen is one of the first houses to break away from this zonal isolationism. Sixteen new productions are introduced in 1947/48, six of which are works premiered post-war but only three of which had first been performed in the American Zone. Professor Mamlock was premiered in the American Sector of Berlin but, it will be remembered, Die erste Legion had first been put on in the French Zone and Arbusow's Tanja was actually being performed in the Western Zones for the first time after having been premiered at the Deutsches Nationaltheater in Weimar.

The decision to include a modern Russian work is especially interesting because it distinguishes the provincial house Gießen from the larger and more renowned theatres, not only in the American Zone but in the Western Zones in general. It is remarkable to note that at the twenty theatres examined here only three Russian plays were

performed which had been premiered in Germany after the war and that they were all presented by the three previously least known houses, although they proved to be three of the most enterprising in this period: Tscheglow's Der Wirbelsturm at the Städtische Bühnen Hagen; Schwarz's Der Schatten at the Landestheater Coburg; Arbusow's Tanja at the Theater der Stadt Gießen, all in 1947/48. Further evidence of the adventurous nature of the Gießen repertoire is the fact that the six modern plays come from four different countries: two German, two American, one Russian and one British, the only point of criticism being the absence of modern French drama.

Furthermore, the rest of the 1947/48 selection reveals an individuality well above average. While most theatres are performing Hamlet, Ein Sommernachtstraum or Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung, Gießen chooses Richard III as the first post-war Shakespeare which can only otherwise be seen in Bochum. This choice is not only original it is also thematically related to other works. In its concentration on the ambitious, bold, subtle and treacherous Richard, the play can be seen to follow on logically from Medea but also to relate to Neumann's Der Patriot and the figure of Graf Pahlen at the court of Czar Paul I. Der Patriot, in spite of productions in Konstanz and Bonn, was not a common work at the time but it, too, can be located in a series of plays dealing with the use of power and the question of conscience. Power and its uses are common themes in Richard III, Kabale und Liebe, but also in Professor Mamlock, Don Carlos, Antigone, Der Hauptmann von Köpenick and so on. The question of conscience, guilt and repentance are essential elements not only in Der Patriot but also in Hanneles Himmelfahrt, especially in the figure of the drunken Mattern, or

Petrus in Apostelspiel; they are absolutely central to Der Mann, den sein Gewissen trieb by Maurice Rostand. Gießen is the only theatre examined to produce this play which was written in 1924 under the impact of the First World War but was equally relevant in 1945. It revolves around a young French man who kills a young German in face to face combat in the war and whose conscience subsequently drives him to seek out the dead man's family. The grieving parents take him for a friend of their son's; only the fiancée realizes the truth which he then confesses to her. She commands him to remain silent in the face of the parent's joy at finding a substitute for their dead son and his repentance is to bear his guilt in silence. The question of conscience is related to religion which permeates Hanneles Himmelfahrt, Apostelspiel (another unusual choice) and, of course, Die erste Legion. On top of this, social criticism continues to be an issue in Hokuspokus and Ein Inspektor kommt which are also affined by the form of the thriller, similarly encompassing Herr Lamberthier and Gaslicht.

To celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the theatre, Iphigenie auf Tauris was performed, in Gießen as elsewhere, in full appreciation of its symbolic character:

Es ist eine Absage an alle rohe Gewalt,
ein heiliger Appell an die Güte des
Menschenherzens, ein Bekenntnis zur
letzten Wahrheit, eine Aufforderung zum
gegenseitigen Verstehen, der Triumph der
Liebe zum Menschen über alle Haß- und
Rachegefühle.¹¹³

Few theatres achieved such a closely integrated and enterprising programme as the Theater der Stadt Gießen, directly confronting uncomfortable issues but offering a wealth of dramatic realizations to assist in

the process of clarification and understanding. With provincial houses offering such quality it is not surprising that traditional theatre centres really had to fight to retain their reputations.

One of the places with a reputation as a cultural centre which had to fight hard to re-establish itself at this time was München. Here I shall examine the situation at two theatres, especially as drama at the Staatstheater did not re-commence until March 1946. The home of the Staatsschauspiel - the "Residenztheater" - had been destroyed in 1943 and a new house was built in 1945/46 within the ruins called the "Theater am Brunnenhof". After one production at the "Prinzregententheater", which subsequently housed the opera, the Staatsschauspiel took up residence at the "Theater am Brunnenhof", opening with Nathan der Weise on 18 May 1946. The theatre held 540 people and was subsidized by the state of Bayern. The Städtische Bühnen had retained one of their houses, the "Schauspielhaus", a turn of the century theatre holding about 700 people and known as the "Kammerspiele". Performances were also held in the 450-seat "Bayerischer Hof", a substitute for the old "Volkstheater" which had been completely flattened. The Städtische Bühnen were a municipal institution receiving their subsidies from the city of München and they were supported by a "Kulturbund". Both theatres concentrated on drama. At the time München, which had been bombed, but to nothing like the extent of Gießen or Frankfurt, had a population of about three-quarters of a million.

A considerable number of prominent theatre people who had fled from Berlin and other more bombarded parts of Germany could be found in München in 1945, so that the cast lists of productions at both the Staatsschauspiel and the Kammerspiele in the first post-war seasons

include many of the most eminent German actors and directors.

"Intendant" at the Staatsschauspiel was Paul Verhoeven who declared that besides encouraging the classics he was 'ein Mann des lebendigen Theaters' and that 'die Tore unseres Theaters dem Dichter der Gegenwart weit geöffnet werden sollen'.¹¹⁴ "Generalintendant" at the Städtische Bühnen was Erich Engel, Brecht's associate and famous amongst other things for his Shakespeare productions at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin in the Thirties.

The half-season 1945/46 at the state theatre (Table XXVII) saw six productions: two classics, Ein Sommernachtstraum and Nathan der Weise, two post-war premieres, Leuchtfeuer and Antigone, Molnár's Liliom and a light comedy, Tintenspritzer; an interesting selection due to its balanced distribution and variety of nationalities but rather too few to allow any useful inferences to be drawn.

The Kammerspiele offered a full season with sixteen plays and one "Märchen" (Table XXVIII) opening on 12 October 1945 with Macbeth - a very unusual choice and one that did not receive the approbation of the critics. It was intended to be symbolic. According to the "Dramaturg" Dr. Wolfgang Petzet:

In der Weltliteratur dürfte es kaum
eine zweite Tragödie geben, die mit
gleich visionärer Kraft das Wesen jenes
Inferno offenbart, das wir in den
letzten zwölf Jahren durchschritten
haben (...) wir wollen helfen zu
erkennen, zu bannen und zu überwinden.¹¹⁵

The play ended with the line 'Die Welt ist frei', cutting the invitation to the crowing of the new king, but Dahlmann thought 'Ein müder Macbeth (...) machte vor einem Jahr als Auftakt in den

Kammerspielen schon die Hoffnungen klein: Bourgeoises Theater mit mißglückter Tendenzierung'.¹¹⁶ None of the classic productions was highly praised. Even Erich Engel's Sturm which was a repeat of a formerly highly successful Berlin production remained caught within the restrictive framework of the Kammerspiele and failed to achieve the scope expected from the classics. During this year only Arnulf Schröder's Nathan at the Staatsschauspiel with Hellmuth Renar in the title role really achieved critical acclaim.

Despite reactions like Dahlmann's, who accused the whole of the first post-war season at the Kammerspiele - with the exception of Professor Mamlock - of not tackling the real needs of the time, the selection does in fact include a number of topical and potentially relevant works. Besides Wolf's play two others feature from the category premiered after the war: Unsere kleine Stadt and the German premiere of Der trojanische Krieg wird nicht stattfinden. In direct relation to the anti-war theme of Giraudoux's play another French work dealing with the experiences at the front in the First World War is included, Raynal's Das Grabmal des unbekannten Soldaten, which was written in the same year and under the same influence as Rostand's Der Mann, den sein Gewissen trieb. It is worth noting that it took six years for these mature and well-constructed dramatizations of war experiences to be written, a fact which relativizes the immediate post-war call for young German drama and supports the opinion that writers needed time to translate their experiences into valid dramatic form. The Kammerspiele is the only theatre examined to include the play in the repertoires for the first three post-war seasons. The rest of the 1945/46 choice is very popular comprising satire and comedy by Molnár, Katajew, Goetz und Kästner.

It is interesting for a moment to draw comparisons with the situation in Hamburg, where two similar houses have been examined, and to note that the developments are quite contradictory this season. Whereas in Hamburg it was the Deutsches Schauspielhaus which was lacking profile and the Kammerspiele quite clearly defined its own path, in München the repertoire of the Kammerspiele is more like that of a state theatre and not essentially different from Verhoeven's house. This is surprising since Engel certainly had as many useful contacts at his disposal as his colleague in Hamburg, Ida Ehre.. There was even something of a parallel between the figure of John Olden, the British theatre officer, and the American theatre officers Gerard van Loon and Walter Behr, both of whom had been actors in Germany before 1933 and were tireless in their efforts to aid the reconstruction of the theatre after 1945.

The negative response to the 1945/46 repertoire did bring about changes the following season, the most remarkable of which is that classical plays disappeared from the repertoire of the Kammerspiele completely, although Dahlmann reports that Was ihr wollt was presented at the Volkstheater which was under the same management as the Kammerspiele. It was left to the Staatsschauspiel, as would normally be expected, to put on Racine, Goethe and Schiller. The emphasis at the Kammerspiele is on works premiered in Germany after the war which make up seven of the nine works performed, the only others being Romain's comedy Dr. Knock and the almost inevitable Gaslicht. Three of these works are American, two German (including Horváth), one French and one Swiss, and five of them had received their German premieres in the American Zone. Frisch's Nun singen sie wieder is itself a German premiere as is, arguably,

Der jüngste Tag - Horváth's guilt and repentance drama had been produced before the war at the Deutsches Theater in Mährisch-Ostrau in Czechoslovakia.

It is difficult to establish thematic relationships between the works; rather it appears to be an eclectic selection of modern plays, most of which had already proved themselves in other towns, but they are not underpinned by a transparent concept. Dahlmann ascribed the lack of profile to the fact that the Kammerspiele and the Volkstheater were combined, allowing neither to develop a personality of its own.¹¹⁷ On top of this, the existence of film studios in the vicinity of München meant that ensembles were not easy to create because a number of the prominent actors and actresses only gave guest appearances while waiting for film roles. Engel himself was also a film-maker and some critics blamed the slow development of the Kammerspiele at least partly on his involvement with films. Such suspicion of the film world was also apparent in relation to Helmut Käutner in Hamburg. At the end of the 1946/47 season Engel moved to Berlin.

The second post-war season at the Staatsschauspiel which really suffered from worse ensemble problems than the Kammerspiele, saw the production of eleven plays divided between classics and moderns. Only two other plays feature, Hauptmann's "Glashüttenmärchen" Und Pippa tanzt and a Christmas play by Max Mell. The modern works consist of two German, two American and one British play, all of them premiered in the American Zone or Sector of Berlin. It is worth noting that such zonal self-sufficiency does not apply quite so exclusively to the Kammerspiele where two of the seven modern works from the 1946/47 selection had been premiered in the British and French Zones.

In the case of the Staatsschauspiel no thematic concept can be recognized. There is an emphasis on plays with major female roles: not only the three classical productions, Phädra, Stella and Maria Stuart, but also Und Pippa tanzt and Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen. Verhoeven, whose absence due to illness during this season contributed to the shortcomings of the repertoire, had especially good actresses in his company: Phädra was played by Anne Kersten; she was joined by Maria Wimmer in Stella and Maria Stuart; Sabine in Wilder's play was Luise Ullrich.

It is a heavy programme with three classic tragedies in one season, not attempting to be particularly popular but not confronting significant current issues to any degree either. In looking back at this season Dahlmann suggested that those responsible for the repertoire were 'müde und mutlos' and spoke of the 'Spielplanlosigkeit unserer Bühnen (die zudem alle in gleicher Richtung spielen)'.¹¹⁸

Clearly differentiated aims and modes of realization were not a feature of the München theatres in the third post-war season either. At the Kammerspiele Engels's place was taken by Hans Schweikart who had been an actor and director there in the Twenties, "Oberspielleiter" at the Residenz-Theater in the Thirties and had spent the war years as a free-lance writer and director. He reduced the number of new productions to eight and one "Märchen" with a strong emphasis on foreign works. The selection includes only one German play, Des Teufels General, which sooner or later was put on at nearly every theatre in the Western Zones. The other three works first produced in Germany post-war include two French and one British work of which one, Giraudoux's Die Irre von

Chaillot, was a German premiere. This slight emphasis on modern French drama is symptomatic of a greater individuality in the repertoire overall. Although Des Teufels General and Ein Inspektor kommt were produced everywhere, Der seidene Schuh only features at one of the other theatres examined here: the German premiere in Köln. Die Möwe can only be discovered once too, in Düsseldorf, while the comedies, Das tolle Geld and Die Zeit des Glücks, are not to be found at any of the other houses under discussion.

Apart from the greater degree of originality Schweikart's first repertoire reveals a more active awareness of social issues such as the relationship between power and money in Die Irre von Chaillot and Das tolle Geld. There is also a greater degree of thematic cohesion revolving around the reactions and situation of young people in Die Möwe, Die Zeit des Glücks and also in Sheila's and Eric's recognition of their guilt in Ein Inspektor kommt. Guilt is furthermore one of the major concerns of Des Teufels General in which the question of the situation of young people is also exemplified by Hartmann. Thus a thematically much more tightly-knit repertoire emerges, introducing drama from four different countries in a wide variety of forms: a thriller, a religious work, a tragi-comedy, an exile work and so on.

The appointment of Schweikart to the Kammerspiele was clearly an act of restoration, but in view of the more planned and balanced programme as well as the individuality he introduced, it is impossible to judge his arrival negatively. He gave the repertoire and hence the Kammerspiele a profile of their own.

1947/48 at the Staatsschauspiel brought a repertoire befitting a Kammertheater and not a Staatstheater. Here, too, the number of

productions is less than in the previous season but most surprisingly there is only one new classic production, Don Carlos. The other eight plays comprise four works premiered in Germany after the war, comedies by Gogol and Coward, and two works by Zuckmayer and Strindberg.

The degree of originality is considerably greater than in the previous two seasons. Apart from Don Carlos which was extremely popular, Ein Traumspiel could only otherwise be seen in Köln, Der Hauptmann von Köpenick in Gießen, and Der Revisor in Hamburg. Of the theatres surveyed here, Weekend is unique to München, and the other works are either world or German premieres. The world premieres are both of German plays. Both plays and authors are quite unknown today; at the time Anno Domini nach der Pest was an interesting experiment. The play, which was Paul Verhoeven's last production at the Staatsschauspiel, concerns the fate of German emigrants who, according to Rudolf Bach in the programme notes:

im neuen Asyl, in der Fremde, ihre Passion
durchleben und die Auseinandersetzung mit
den großen brennenden, zeitlich-ewigen Problemen
von Schuld und Sühne, Recht und Unrecht,
Untat und Vergeltung bestehen müssen.¹¹⁹

As the last production of the season, cut short by the effects of the Currency Reform, Julius Vogel's play was seen as symbolizing a spirit of humanity. Bach even draws direct comparisons with Lessing's Nathan.

One of the two German premieres is another Anouilh play, his comedy Einladung aufs Schloß; the other may not have been a German premiere at all although it is usually described as one: Eliot's Mord im Dom was indisputably produced in Köln, opening on 20 October 1947, but, as has already been noted, various sources also ascribe the German premiere to Göttingen and München. It is of interest to note that the hand-written production lists for the Staatsschauspiel (see Table V) refer to

Mord im Dom as "Deutsch..UA" but cite the date of the first performance as "23. Oktober 1947".¹²⁰ Such uncertainty is symptomatic of the period and of the theatres' desire to be the first to host new plays. So long as communications were unreliable it was quite possible for theatres to claim German premieres for themselves some time after the play had already been performed elsewhere.

Clearly the 1947/48 selection is much more international than the previous choices with four German, two British, one Swedish, one Russian and one French work. The Kammerspiele and the Staatsschauspiel together produced three modern French plays by three different authors during this season which is not only a much higher than average proportion for the Zone, it is also very much higher than in Hamburg, for example, where neither the Deutsches Schauspielhaus nor the Hamburger Kammerspiele produced a single modern French play during 1947/48.

In other respects certain changes in development had taken place in the München houses by comparison with Hamburg since 1945. In 1947/48 the shape of the repertoire at the Münchener Kammerspiele is very similar to that of the Hamburger Kammerspiele. The latter has a slightly larger repertoire, includes one classical work and is marginally more dedicated to modern plays in general, but the essential chamber theatre character of the repertoire is comparable. Just two seasons earlier the Münchener Kammerspiele had offered a selection of plays closer to the repertoire of the Deutsches Schauspielhaus or the Staatsschauspiel. The Staatsschauspiel, though more original, still resembles a chamber rather than a state theatre in 1947/48 which can be explained partly by the restricting dimensions of the Theater am Brunnenhof. With the one Schiller production and one nineteenth century play the similarities to the repertoire at the Hamburger Kammerspiele are remarkable. They do not

go so far as to include the same awareness about contents, however; thematic cohesion is not a feature of the repertoire at the Staatsschauspiel this season.

As seen in Bonn, due to the enormous enthusiasm for the theatre at the time, it was possible for two houses - especially in a large city like München - to exist side by side producing almost interchangeable programmes. The Currency Reform would force them to reconsider and to plan much more thoroughly than in the three seasons leading up to the second new beginning. During these exceptional three seasons it was quite possible for the Staatsschauspiel and the Kammerspiele to maintain themselves, but their lack of differentiation did not aid their artistic re-establishment. If München had been the undisputed theatre centre in Southern Germany until 1945, Alfred Dahlmann was forced to report regretfully in 1947:

Man spricht heute schon von Stuttgart als der Theaterstadt Süddeutschlands. Das sind Signale für alle, die mit Leidenschaft dagegen protestieren, daß Münchens große und auch avantgardistische Theatertradition in der müden Zweitrangigkeit einer Provinzstadt verebbt.¹²¹

Since communications were poor and travel difficult it can only be assumed that Dahlmann did not know that it was precisely provincial towns like Gießen, Coburg and Hagen which were producing repertoires of quality. With reference to them the description 'milde Zweitrangigkeit' was not only offensive but positively misplaced.

It is "the" theatre centre in Southern Germany which closes this survey of theatres in the Western Zones: Stuttgart. The city had a population of just under half a million and had been more than 50% destroyed in the bombing, although the main building of the Württembergisches

Staatstheater had been spared. From March 1946 performances were also held at the Kleine Bühne in the "Mörike-Oberschule" and from Christmas 1946 in the "Kammerspiele im Großen Haus" built to replace the "Kleines Haus" which had not survived the war. The Staatstheater were subsidized jointly by the state and municipal authorities (60:40), were supported by a union organization and presented opera, operetta, ballet and drama.

The first post-war "Intendant" was Albert Kehm, who had been in charge of the theatre between 1920 and 1933. From 1946, after Kehm had resigned 'der offiziellen Erklärung zufolge um Fragen der künstlerischen Entwicklung',¹²² Bertil Wetzelsberger took over. His primary interest was in modern opera. "Schauspieldirektor" immediately responsible for the repertoire was Dr. Karl Heinrich Ruppel who had distinguished himself as a thoroughly reliable observer of artistic life in Berlin in the Thirties and early Forties when he was Berlin drama and music critic of the Kölnische Zeitung. He had moved to Stuttgart in 1944 in order to become a director and was supposed to produce Macbeth but had been prevented from doing so by political developments. He was on the spot in 1945 when the question of reconstruction was raised and, although he did direct the production of Nathan der Weise, his first priority was the re-building of the drama section of the house. The stability provided by the permanent presence of Ruppel certainly contributed to Stuttgart's development during this period. On top of this, Stuttgart like München was suddenly home to a number of prominent actors but without the distracting proximity of film studios; Stuttgart was much more successful than the

Bavarian city at integrating these actors into its own theatre life so that they did not leave at the earliest opportunity.

Stuttgart was able to present a full season of plays in 1945/46 (Table XXIX) comprising thirteen productions. In his book Kulturgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1945-1948 Hermann Glaser lists what he believes to be the first performances given in the Western Zones after the war and begins 'in Essen am 20. Juli 1945 (In weißen Rössen), in Hamburg am 29. August 1945 (Hofmannsthals Jedermann)¹²³ and so on. He fails, just as he did in the cases of Hagen and Coburg, to include Stuttgart which re-opened its doors, also with Jedermann, under the direction of Rudolf Fernau on 4 August 1945.¹²⁴

The first post-war repertoire in Stuttgart is soundly based on the classics covering the various genres from tragedy to comedy. There are only two plays included which had been premiered post-war: Antigone and Professor Mamlock, and a further three which had been banned under National Socialism: Katharina Knie, Ein Spiel von Tod und Liebe, and Ingeborg. A common theme can be discerned already determined in some of the same plays in Mönchengladbach and Rheydt: abnegation of personal happiness in favour of that of others. Such sacrifice is a feature not only of Zuckmayer's Katharina Knie and Rolland's Sophie de Courvoisier but also of Anouilh's Antigone and Schiller's Marquis von Posa.

Serious drama easily holds the balance; clearly Ruppel considered it unnecessary or unfitting to include anything lighter than a Curt Goetz in his selection. But, though demanding, it is not a heavy programme and might be likened to Langhoff's first post-war repertoire in Düsseldorf both in terms of its maturity and confidence, as well as its obvious educational ambitions. In this respect it is worth noting that six of the plays in the 1945/46 repertoire are those, or by

authors, suggested by Falk Harnack in his recommendations for the theatre as a "moralische Anstalt".

This trend was continued in 1946/47 to some extent when a further four of the fourteen new productions also feature in Harnack's recommendations. Once again the classics form a strong basis with major works by Goethe and Schiller, Macbeth carried over from the previous season, and Moreto's comedy Donna Diana. The proportion of works first produced in Germany after the war is considerably higher with four productions including one German premiere: Mary von Schottland, a somewhat simplified historical drama by the American author Maxwell Anderson. Each of these plays was put on in the new Kammertheater which, having hosted the final performances of the previous season's production of Professor Mamlock, officially opened on 22 December 1946 with Der trojanische Krieg fällt aus and, one day later, Ibsen's Gespenster. The Kammertheater soon enjoyed an extremely high reputation, a fact which moderated the views of certain local critics who were not so impressed by the Staatstheater as their colleagues elsewhere. Antagonized by the controversial production of Faust I by Paul Riedy with Mathias Wieman in the title role, the critic Hans Bayer even went so far as to claim:

Über die Arbeit des Staatstheaters hing
lange Zeit ein Unstern. Es mag freilich
frivol klingen, wenn man es ausspricht:
aber diesem Theater bekam es nicht, daß
sein Großes Haus vom Krieg verschont blieb.¹²⁵

He continued: 'Die Form des Theaters war erhalten geblieben, aber es war nicht gelungen, sie mit neuem Inhalt zu füllen' which, with regard to the 1945/46 repertoire, is largely a condemnation of the Shakespeare and Schiller productions, and in 1946/47 the Goethe and Schiller productions, since the others were held in the Kleine Bühne. Faust I

was set by Max Fritzsche on an enormous disc representing the world upon which Faust appeared as 'der kosmische Träumer'.¹²⁶ While this was indeed a surprising interpretation in 1947 and one that various commentators questioned,¹²⁷ the production was so successful that it was carried over into the third post-war season and credited as a fascinating experiment of high standard.¹²⁸

Bayer's disappointment about the quality of the theatre, which was relativized somewhat by the productions at the Kammertheater, is surely a product of the lack of possibilities for comparing one house with another, recognized amongst others by Erich Kästner. In ignorance of the standards elsewhere it was difficult to reach fair assessments about the theatre in Stuttgart which by this time was generally being described as the leading house in the south of the country.¹²⁹ A particular contribution to this reputation was made by the opening productions in the Kammertheater. Gespenster with Paul Hoffmann, Hermine Körner, and Gisela Uhlen, directed by Helmut Henrichs, and Der trojanische Krieg fällt aus, directed by Paul Riedy, even elicited praise from Bayer: 'Die beiden Eröffnungsvorstellungen (...) hatten ein Niveau, wie man es nur von den ersten Berliner Bühnen gewöhnt war'.¹³⁰

Just as in 1945/46 the emphasis is on serious drama reflecting the theatre's belief that 'Welt und Mensch sind wieder Gegenstand unseres Interesses geworden (...) der wirkliche, erlebende und erleidende Mensch'.¹³¹ Such ideas form a common background to the 1946/47 repertoire which is also much more international than the previous season. It can be seen, however, that by far the most frequently represented foreign country is America which provides three of the four plays premiered post-war, while all four had received their German premieres in the American Zone.

Both these tendencies extended into the third post-war season: the programme of thirteen new productions is very international and while the number of American works is less than 1946/47, all the new plays from the category premiered after the war were American Zone premieres. An exception is Trauer muß Elektra tragen which had only failed to be an American Zone premiere in Frankfurt by one day.

Remarkable, and indicative of Stuttgart's standing, is the high proportion of German premieres within this group: Lorca's Bluthochzeit, Camus's Caligula and Bruckner's Heroische Komödie. The plays and writers themselves indicate the greater individuality of the selection: each of these authors features for the first time amongst the theatres examined here. Furthermore, apart from the popular choices such as Candida, Raub der Sabinerinnen, Ein Inspektor kommt and Iphigenie, two of the other productions are also unique to Stuttgart: Lysistrata and Mirandolina.

In contrast to the Staatsschauspiel in München, Stuttgart maintained the classic base in 1947/48 while still placing an emphasis on modern works, especially as Antigone and Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen were carried over from 1946/47. There are seven plays premiered in Germany after the war representing the drama of five different nations: two French works are juxtaposed with one Austrian, one American, one British and one Spanish. They are overwhelmingly serious plays, comedy is once again a secondary consideration, but they adopt a variety of forms and thus avoid heaviness. Ein Inspektor kommt and Nebel are both thrillers, the lyrical tragedy Bluthochzeit is atmospherically related to the romantic "Märchen" Undine, while Caligula and Trauer muß Elektra tragen both use a classical frame of reference. It is also worth noting that with Caligula and Heroische Komödie two "Antifa" plays

are taken into the programme following Professor Mamlock in the first two post-war seasons.

Taking the three seasons together it can be seen that plays confronting the past, whether specifically or in terms of questioning man's role in relation to war, are an important feature of Stuttgart's post-war repertoires. In particular the modern plays chosen are not of the entertaining variety such as Drei Mann auf einem Pferd or Das Lied der Taube but are works which deal with problems and offer audiences an opportunity to test and re-consider their beliefs.

It was certainly the strength of the repertoire too, which bound so many of the actors and directors of the "Stunde Null" to the Stuttgart house. They eventually left, not because of more lucrative or interesting offers, but because the city authorities' reaction to the consequences of the Currency Reform was to cancel everyone's contracts and block subsidies. Wetzelsberger resigned, Ruppel returned to journalism, and in Stuttgart too, the Currency Reform signalled another new beginning.

Just as in the British Zone, one of the most remarkable features of theatre in the American Zone between 1945 and 1948 was the initiative taken by previously insignificant houses like Coburg and Gießen in creating repertoires designed to confront issues ensuing from Germany's immediate past. It is essential to emphasize the achievement of such theatres which meant trying to establish facts such as which theatres actually existed and what they produced, but also to examine a few of the fictions which have developed over the years and are - in some cases - well on the way to becoming received wisdom: that Wilder's Eine kleine

Stadt, for example, received its German premiere at the Münchner Kammerspiele on 4 December 1945 and not at the Deutsches Theater Berlin on 3 August of the same year or that the first German production of Mutter Courage could be seen at the Deutsches Theater Berlin on 11 January 1949 and not at the Stadttheater Konstanz on 30 May 1946.

Provincial theatres suffer particularly under the weight of such fictions since their achievements, by contrast to those of the major houses, are little documented and even less well known. When Hermann Glaser, citing Henning Rischbieter as his source,¹³² lists the first performances to be given in the Western Zones between 26 Juli 1945 and 17 December 1945 in his authoritative Kulturgeschichte der Bundes-Deutschland 1945-1948 without mentioning Stuttgart (4.8. 1945), Hagen (9.9.1945), Coburg (5.10.1945), Trier (6.10.1945), Gießen (15.11.1945) or Bonn (17.12.1945) these performances are in danger of becoming non-facts; it is assumed that Glaser's and Rischbieter's lists are definitive.

Furthermore, the recent surge of interest in the period has brought forth some books and articles dealing partly or solely with the theatre at this time. One of the most recent publications entitled ... dann spielten sie wieder is concerned with the Bayerisches Staatsschauspiel in München between 1946 and 1986 and is composed of reference and historical material. It is intended for a broad public readership and the historical material includes many reminiscences about the period. A long quotation is cited from Hermann Wenninger's contribution to the Festschrift zur Eröffnung des Neuen Residenztheaters am 28. Januar 1951. Looking back on the five years during which the Staatsschauspiel was housed in the Theater am Brunnenhof, Wenninger noted:

Es wird nicht lange dauern, und alles, was uns darin verdroß, wird vergessen sein, und bleiben wird die Liebe zu einem magischen Raum der Erinnerung, in dem ungezählte Träume geträumt und einige verwirklicht wurden.¹³³

Wenninger anticipates the spirit in which ... dann spielten sie wieder is written and pinpoints one of the problems of such works which tend to perpetuate fictions as well as facts. Nowhere is there any suggestion that München was anything other than the leading theatre centre in Southern Germany - contrary to authoritative opinion, at the time - nor that the repertoire at the Staatsschauspiel should have elicited comments such as 'müde und mutlos',¹³⁴ from a contemporary critic like Alfred Dahlmann. Detailed examination of the repertoires and theatre criticism at the time allow a more dispassionate evaluation.

Another fiction is the frequently held belief that Berlin immediately re-asserted itself as the theatre centre in Germany after the war. In fact it has been seen that Berlin's supremacy was successfully challenged by several theatres which, but for external pressures, might have posed a long-term threat to Berlin's position. The success of houses like Stuttgart, or on a smaller scale Coburg or Hagen, lay in their understanding of reconstruction. They neither attempted to restore past patterns nor to revolutionize provincial theatre overnight. Instead they developed repertoires over the three seasons which confronted and helped to clarify the phenomena which had culminated in the post-war situation. Only theatres which attempted such clarification achieved a tenable position in this situation and it is clear that the weakest repertoires were those which avoided problematic and potentially controversial drama either by concentrating on innocuous works or by trying to establish continuity with a past supposedly truncated in 1933, 1939 or 1944.

From this survey of repertoires it emerges that the method of confronting the past has as its major objective the idea of searching for truth. This objective is common to all theatre people of whatever political persuasion and must be seen not only as a reaction to the relativization and abnegation of truth under National Socialism but also as a facet of a theatre tradition dating back to Schiller and the "Schaubühne als eine moralische Anstalt". Although the search for truth is common to all, both the object of the search and the methods employed differ. The truth sought by the theatre people of the Left and expressed in the repertoires of men like Langhoff is definable in terms of socio-political concepts. It is this truth which is supposed to bring about social and political change in Germany and thus this is the most concrete and least restorative manifestation of truth-seeking to be identified; it seeks to establish new principles in a new era. Realization of this truth is sought through the works of German classicism like Nathan der Weise and Kabale und Liebe on the one hand and the socially critical and politically conscious drama of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries on the other. The fact that Langhoff, to remain with this case as an example, failed to establish himself and his truth in Düsseldorf neither invalidates the truth nor the search for truth. It reflects the suspicion felt about those with clear programmatic ideas, especially if they had emigrated, but also their own lack of patience and circumspection in wishing to see their truth become social reality immediately.

The search for an absolute truth is certainly the explanation, too, for the pre-occupation with religious and especially Christian drama found throughout the Western Zones. Here truth cannot be defined in terms of a political programme but is a more spiritual concept: a pursuit of ultimate and eternal truth in the Christian ethos. Besides

theatres like Köln and Mönchengladbach-Rheydt which specifically propound Christian ideals but do include non-religious and humanist works in their selections, the search for timeless principles is also inherent in the repertoires of theatres at which religious drama is not a consciously adopted form - particularly in the concentration on works of German classicism.

The special status accorded to the works of Goethe, Schiller but also of Lessing at the time is partly a result of the values represented by these works, one of which is their attitude towards truth. But beyond this it is their symbolic role which is of much greater significance. It was symbolic in two respects. One was as a protest against the misappropriation of classic works by the Nazis for their heroic ideas. As Hermann Glaser quite rightly points out:

Hatten schon während des Dritten Reiches die Klassiker-Inszenierungen von Gustaf Gründgens, Heinz Hilpert, Jürgen Fehling und Otto Falckenberg in ihrer Subtilität eine Protest gegen solche Usurpation angemeldet, so war die starke Präsenz der klassischen Dramen in den Nachkriegsspielplänen (...) als bewußte Gegenposition zu dem Mißbrauch der humanistisch-idealistischen Werte im Dritten Reich zu verstehen.¹³⁵

Over and beyond this, however, a second and more fundamental symbolic aspect can be identified. One of the leitmotifs of German history is the search for national (and individual) identity and in the immediate post-war years this leitmotif recurs in the dedication to the German classics. Identity is closely related to continuity and the continuity of German historical development had been broken. With it identity had been destroyed or discredited, either by the emergence of National Socialism or by the defeat of National Socialism, and a new search for identity had to begin again. It began with the works of German classicism

which in their essence had not been discredited and had maintained a continuity, especially with Goethe and, above all, with Iphigenie auf Tauris. In the theatre at the time there was little explicit discussion about the discrediting of language - "Kahlschlag" was not a concept developed in the theatre - but implicitly the dedication to German classicism was symptomatic of a pursuit of purity in language as well as ideas, a search for a point at which truth was ultimate and eternal, and this point was symbolized by works like Iphigenie. Seen in terms of a search for identity the dedication to the classics is not difficult to comprehend and it is worth noting that the repertoire of the Züricher Schauspielhaus during the twelve years up to 1945 was firmly based on German classics despite the many productions of topical and "Antifa" works. Seen in terms of a search for identity, too, it becomes clear why Shakespeare's plays, especially the serious works, appear so sporadically in the repertoires. Shakespeare was only of limited use in the search for identity since it was a German and not a British identity which was sought. Furthermore, it also explains why, after the initial curiosity about foreign works had been gratified, there was such an insistent call for modern German drama: 'Zahlreiche Zuschriften bezeugen, wie allgemein die Sehnsucht nach der Ansprache durch Dichter ist, die unser Schicksal aus der Nähe des Miterlebens deuten'.¹³⁶ Leaving aside chauvinistic prejudices against foreign and exile works, new German drama was the object through which a sense of identity was supposed to be created. This, finally, explains the overriding preoccupation with ultimate and eternal truth in the theatre since frank and honest reappraisal was the only mediator between the present and the past, and confrontation with the historical truth both nationally and individually was the only means of access to a renewed German identity.

TABLE VII LIST OF THEATRES IN THE WESTERN ZONES AND BERLIN 1945-1946

Aachen	Stadttheater	Flensburg	Städtische Bühnen
Aschaffenburg	Theater der Stadt	Frankfurt	Städtische Bühnen/ Rhein-Mainische Landesbühne
Augsburg	Städtische Bühnen		
Baden-Baden	Stadttheater	Freiburg	Städtische Bühnen
Bamberg	Stadttheater	Fürth	Fürther Gastspiel- Theater
		Fürth-Nürnberg	Vereinigte Stadttheater
Bayreuth	Neues Theater	Garmisch- Partenkirchen	Kammerspiele/ Kleines Theater
Bochum	Bühne der Stadt		
Bonn	Städtische Bühnen/ Kammerschauspiele	Gelsenkirchen	Theater in der Bochumer Straße
Braunschweig	Staatstheater	Gießen	Stadttheater
Bremen	Bremer Kammerspiele/ Bremer Künstler- theater/Opernhaus/ Gastspieltheater	Bad Godesberg Göttingen	Komödie Stadttheater
		Hagen	Städtische Bühnen
Celle	Volksbühne	Hamburg	Deutsches Schau- spielhaus/Junge Bühne/Hamburger Kammerspiele/ Thalia Theater/ Komödie/Nieder- deutsche Bühne
Coburg	Landestheater		
Dachau	Theater im Schloß		
Darmstadt	Hessisches Landes- theater		
Dortmund	Städtische Bühnen	Hamburg-Harburg	Städtische Bühnen
Bad Dürreheim	Kurtheater	Hannover	Städtische Bühnen/ Kammerspiele und Junge Bühne/Landes- bühne
Düsseldorf	Städtische Bühnen/ Kleines Theater/ Neue Bühne		
Emden	Ostfriesische Kammerspiele	Heidelberg	Städtische Bühnen/ Kammerspiele 1945 Neue Bühne
		Heidenheim	
Erlangen	Markgrafentheater	Herford	Neues Theater
Essen	Bühnen der Stadt	Herten	Vestische Bühne
Esslingen	Württembergische Landesbühne	Hildersheim	Theater Hildesheim
Eutin	Eutiner Schauspiele (Wanderbühne)		

TABLE VII (Continued)

Ingolstadt	Stadttheater	München	Bayerisches Staatstheater/Städtische Bühnen/Theater der Jugend/Neues Münchener Theater/Kleine Komödie/Bürger-Theater/Bayerische Landesbühne/Akademie-Theater u. Podium
Kaiserslautern	Pfälzisches Landestheater		
Karlsruhe	Badisches Staatstheater/Neues Theater		
Kassel	Staatstheater		
Kiel	Neues Stadttheater	München-Gladbach-Rheydt	Städtische Bühnen
Bad Kissingen	Kissinger Kammer-spiele	Oberammergau	Karin-Karina Ensemble
Kitzingen	Frankenbühne	Offenburg	Ortenauer Landestheater
Kleve-Kellen	Theater am Niederrhein	Oldenburg	Oldenburger Staatstheater
Koblenz	Theater der Stadt	Osnabrück	Stadttheater/Osnabrücker Kammer-spiele
Köln	Städtische Bühnen		
Königswinter	Stadttheater	Passau	Stadttheater
Konstanz	Stadttheater	Pforzheim	Städtische Bühnen
Krefeld	Stadttheater	Regensburg	Stadttheater
Burg Lauenstein	Fränkisches Landestheater	Remscheid-Solingen	Spielgemeinschaft Bergischer Künstler
Lippstadt	Volkstheater		
Ludwigsburg	Schiller-Theater	Rheinhausen	Niederrheinische Schauspielbühne
Ludwigshafen	Pfälzischer Gastspielsdienst	Saarbrücken	Stadttheater
Lübeck	Bühnen der Hansestadt	Schleswig	Renaissance Theater
Lüneburg	Lüneburger Bühne	Siegburg	Westdeutsches Landestheater
Mainz	Stadttheater	Sigmaringen	Hohenzollerisches Landestheater
Mannheim	Nationaltheater	Simmern	Neues Theater
Marburg	Marburger Schauspielgruppe	Sohren	Hunsrück-Hochwald-Mosel-Bühne
Memmingen	Stadttheater	Solingen	Städtische Bühnen
Milspe	Westfälisches Operetten-Theater	Solingen-Ohligs	Rheinisches Landestheater

TABLE VII (Continued)

Stuttgart	Württembergisches Staatstheater/Stuttgarter Neues Theater/Stuttgarter Volkstheater	Waldshut Weilburg Wesermünde	Oberrheinische Städte-Bühne Lahnkammerspiele Stadttheater
Bad Tölz	Theater "Der Thespiskarren"	Wiesbaden	Großherzogliches Staatstheater/Neues Theater
Trier	Stadttheater	Wilhelmshaven	Jachmann-Theater
Tübingen-Reutlingen	Städtetheater Tübingen-Reutlingen	Witten-Ruhr Wuppertal	Ruhr-Kammerspiele Städtische Bühnen
Ulm	Städtische Bühne	Würzburg	Die Würzburger Bühne
Berlin	Deutsche Staatsoper/Städtische Oper/Deutsches Theater/Hebbel-Theater/Theater am Schiffbauerdamm/Theater in der Kaiserallee/Rheingau-Theater/Friedenauer Theater/Metropol-Theater/Schloßpark-Theater/Komödie (Theater am Kurfürstendamm)/Tribüne am Knie/ABC Theater/Offenbach Operettentheater/Kammerspiele Witzleben/Wilmersdorfer Theater/Theater des Ostens/Die Maske.		

TABLE VIII LIST OF THEATRES IN THE WESTERN ZONES AND BERLIN 1946-1947

Aachen	Stadttheater	Böklund	Landesbühne
Amberg	Stadttheater	Bonn	Städtische Bühnen/Kammerschauspiele/
Ansbach	Neue Bühne		Literarische Bühne
Arnsberg	Stadttheater	Boppard	Rheinisches Theater der Jugend
Aschaffenburg	Theater der Stadt	Braunschweig	Staatstheater
Augsburg	Städtische Bühnen	Bremen	Bremer Kammerspiele Bremer Künstlertheater/Opernhaus/ Gastspieltheater/
Aurich	Neues Theater		Neues Theater/ Volks-Theater
Baden-Baden	Stadttheater		
Bamberg	Stadttheater		
Bayreuth	Neues Theater/ Markgräflisches Opernhaus und Festspielhaus/ Operetten-Theater	Bremerhaven Castrop-Rauxel	Stadttheater Westfälisches Landestheater
Bielefeld	Stadttheater	Celle	Volksbühne
Bochum	Bühne der Stadt (Parktheater)	Coburg	Landestheater

TABLE VIII (Continued)

Dachau	Theater im Schloß	Bad Godesberg	Komödie
Darmstadt	Landestheater	Göggingen	Die neue Musik- bühne
Delmenhorst	Stadttheater	Göttingen	Stadttheater
Detmold	Lippisches Landes- theater	Goslar	Junge Bühne
Dortmund	Städtische Bühnen	Gütersloh	Westfalen-Theater
Bad Dürreheim	Kurtheater	Hagen	Städtische Bühnen
Düsseldorf	Städtische Bühnen/ Kleines Theater/ Neue Bühne	Hamburg	Deutsches Schau- spielhaus/Junge Bühne/Hamburger Kammerspiele/ Thalia Theater/ Komödie u. Intimes Theater/Staatsoper/ Die Auslese/Flora- Theater/St. Pauli- Theater/Operetten- haus
Duisburg	Kleines Theater		
Duisburg- Hamborn	Zentrales Theater		
Eggenfelden	Volkstheater		
Emden	Ostfriesische Kammerspiele		
Bad Ems	Theater in der Kurstadt	Hamburg-Altona	Studio-Bühne
Erlangen	Markgrafentheater	Hamburg- Bergdorf	Neues Theater
Eschweiler	Städtische Bühne		
Essen	Bühnen der Stadt	Hamburg-Harburg	Städtische Bühnen
Esslingen	Württembergische Landesbühne	Hamburg-Hochkamp	Tribüne
Eutin	Eutiner Schauspiele	Hameln	Heimatbühne
Flensburg	Städtische Bühnen	Hanau	Hanauer Musikbühne
Frankfurt	Städtische Bühnen/ Rhein-Mainische Landesbühne/Kleines Theater am Zoo	Hannover	Städtische Bühnen/ Kammerspiele/Nie- dersächsische Lan- desbühne/Komödie/ Neue Hann. Volks- bühne
Freiburg	Städtische Bühnen		
Fürth	Fürther Gastspiel- Theater	Hannover- Ricklingen	Kammerspiele
		Hann.-Münden	Mündener Stadt- theater
Garmisch- Partenkirchen	Kammerspiele/ Kleines Theater	Bad Harzburg	Niedersächsische Kammerspiele
Gelsenkirchen	Theater in der Bochumer Straße	Heide	Nordseebühne
		Heidelberg	Städtische Bühnen/ Kammerspiele 1946
Gießen	Stadttheater	Heidelberg- Handschuhsheim	Bachlenztheater

TABLE VIII (Continued)

Heidenheim	Neue Bühne	Königswinter	Stadttheater
Heilbronn- Sontheim	Theater Heilbronn	Konstanz	Stadttheater
Heiligenhafen	Volksbühne	Bad Kreuznach- Zell	Kammerspiele
Herford	Neues Theater		
Herrsching/ Ammersee	Dreimaskenbühne	Bad Lauterberg	Harztheater
Herten	Vestische Bühne	Leer	Ostfriesische Kammerspiele
Hildesheim	Theater Hildesheim/ Theater der Jugend	Lippstadt	Volkstheater
Hof/Saale	Neues Theater	Lörrach	Dreiländereckbühne
Bad Homburg	Volksbühne	Ludwigsburg	Schiller-Theater
Ingelheim	Rheinhessisches Künstlertheater	Lübeck	Bühnen der Hanse- stadt/theater 46 - Kammerspielkreis/ Komödie
Ingolstadt	Stadttheater	Lüdenscheid	Bergstadttheater
Iserlohn	Operetten- und Schauspielbühne	Lüneburg	Lüneburger Bühne
Itzehoe	Schauspielbühne	Mainz	Stadttheater
Kaisers- lautern	Pfälzisches Landes- theater	Mannheim	Nationaltheater
		Memmingen	Stadttheater
Karlsruhe	Badisches Staats- theater/Neues Theater/ Kammerspiele	Mülheim/Ruhr	Neues Central- hallentheater
Kassel	Staatstheater	München	Bayerisches Staats- theater/Städtische Bühnen/Neues Mün- chener Theater/Kl. Komödie/Bürger- Theater/Bayerische Landesbühne/Podium/ Bayerische Staats- oper/Bayerische Staatsoperette/ Das junge Theater/ Lustspielhaus/Die Kulisse/Gong/Die Schaubude/Theater am Fürsterweg
Kiel	Neues Stadttheater/ Holstenland-Theater Schleswig-Holstein.- Volkstheater		Städtische Bühnen
Bad Kissingen	Kissinger Kammer- spiele		
Kleve-Kellen	Theater am Nieder- rhein		
Koblenz	Theater der Stadt/ Städtische Landesbühne	München-Glad- bach-Rheydt	
Köln	Städtische Bühnen/ Millowitsch-Theater Rheinische Bühnen	Münster	Städtische Bühnen

TABLE VIII (Continued)

Neckar- teilfingen	Theater des Volkes	Siegburg	Westdeutsches Landestheater
Neuburg	Nordschwäbische Bühne	Sigmaringen	Hohenzollerisches Landestheater
Neustadt- Holstein	Ostholsteinisches Theater	Simmern	Neues Theater
Norderney	Neue Bühne	Solingen	Städtische Bühnen
Nürnberg	Stadttheater	Solingen- Ohligs	Rheinisches Landes- theater
Oberammergau	Karin-Karina-Ensemble	Stade	Die Waage
Oberhausen	Stadttheater	Straubing	Stadttheater
Offenburg	Ortenauer Landes- theater	Stuttgart	Württembergisches Staatstheater/ Stuttgarter Neues Theater/Stuttgarter Volks theater/ Stuttgarter Kleines Theater/Theater der Jugend/Lustspiel- u. Operettentheater
Oldenburg	Oldenburger Staats- theater/Metropol- theater		
Osnabrück	Stadttheater/Osna- brücker Kammerspiele		
Passau	Stadttheater		
Pforzheim	Städtische Bühnen	Tauber- bischofsheim	Nordbadisches Landestheater
Plettenberg	Stadttheater		
Bad Pyrmont	Kleines Theater	Bad Tölz	Theater "Der Thes- piskarren"/Die Operette
Reckling- hausen	Neues Theater	Trier	Stadttheater
Regensburg	Stadttheater	Tübingen- Reutlingen	Städtetheater Tü- bingen-Reutlingen
Reit im Winkel	Oberbayerische Bauernbühne	Tuttlingen	Schwäbische Volks- bühne
Remscheid- Solingen	Spielgemeinschaft Bergischer Künstler/ Junge Bühne Remscheid	Ulm	Städtische Bühne
Rendsburg	Städtebund-Theater	Verden	Neue Schauspiel- bühne
Rodenberg	Landesbühne Schaumburg	Villingen	Mittelbadisches Theater
Rottach	Tegernseer Bauern- theater		
Saarbrücken	Stadttheater	Waldshut	Oberrheinische Stadt-Bühne
Salzgitter	Volksbühne	Weiden	Metropol-Theater
Schleswig	Renaissance Theater	Weilburg	Lahnkammerspiele
Schwäbisch- Gmünd	Städtebund-Theater	Weinheim	Das Podium

TABLE VIII (Continued)

Wesermünde	Stadttheater	Wolfenbüttel	Schloßtheater der Lessingstadt
Westerland/ Sylt	Landestheater Nord- friesland	Worms Worpswede	Stadttheater Kammerspiele
Wiesbaden	Hessisches Staats- theater/Neues Theater/ Kleines Theater	Wuppertal Würzburg	Städtische Bühnen Die Würzburger Bühne
Bad Wildungen	Volksbühne/Thespi- karren/Jugendbühne		
Wilhelmshaven	Jachmanntheater/ Stadttheater		
Witten-Ruhr	Ruhrkammerspiele		
Berlin	Deutsche Staatsoper/Städtische Oper/Deutsches Theater/ Hebbel-Theater/Theater am Schiffbauerdamm/Theater in der Kaiserallee/Rheingau-Theater/Friedenauer Theater/ Metropol-Theater/Schloßpark-Theater/Komödie (Theater am Kurfürstendamm)/Tribüne am Knie/ABC Theater/Offen- bach Operettentheater/Kammerspiele Witzleben/Wilmers- dorfer Theater/Theater des Ostens/Die Maske.		

TABLE XI THE MAJOR PREMIERES IN THE WESTERN ZONES OF GERMANY
AND BERLIN 1945-1948

Author	Title	Place	Date
<u>1945-1946</u>			
v. Ambesser	Das Abgründige in Herrn Gerstenberg	Hamburg	6.3.46.
Anouilh	Antigone	Darmstadt	30.3.46.
	Eurydike (Eurydice)	Frankfurt	2.6.46.
	Der Passagier ohne Gepäck (Le Voyageur sans Bagages)	München	5.46.
Ardrey	Leuchtfeuer (Thunder Rock)	Berlin	6.11.45.
Brecht	Die Gewehre der Frau Carrar	Berlin	16.5.46.
	Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder	Konstanz	30.5.46.
Bridie	Tobias und der Engel (Tobias and the Angel)	Berlin	
Denger	Wir heißen Euch hoffen	Berlin	3.4.46.
Giraudoux	Sodom und Gomorrha	Hamburg	21.5.46.
	Der trojanische Krieg wird nicht stattfinden (La Guerre de Troie n'aura pas lieu)	München	16.4.46.
Hay	Gerichtstag	Berlin	18.9.45.
Hochwälder	Der Flüchtling	München	6.46.
Kaiser	Adrienne Ambrossat	Berlin	
	Der Gärtner von Toulouse	Mannheim	22.12.45.
	Der Soldat Tanaka	Berlin	13.2.46.
Lavery	Die erste Legion (The First Legion)	Konstanz	5.46.
Michael	Ausflug mit Damen	Tübingen	8.3.46.
O'Neill	O Wildnis! (Ah, Wilderness!)	Esslingen	7.46.
Osborn	Familienleben (The Vinegar Tree)	Hamburg	29.6.46.
Priestley	Gefährliche Kurven (Dangerous Corner)	München	
	Die fremde Stadt (They Came to a City)	Bremen	5.46.
Spoerl	Die weiße Weste	Hamburg	18.6.46.
Weisenborn	Die Illegalen	Berlin	21.3.46.
Continued			

TABLE XI continued ...

Author	Title	Place	Date
<u>1945-1946</u>			
Wilder	Unsere kleine Stadt (Our Town)	Berlin	3.8.45.
	Wir sind noch einmal davon- gekommen (The Skin of our Teeth)	Darmstadt	31.3.46.
Wolf	Beaumarchais	Berlin	8.3.46.
	Professor Mamlock	Berlin	9.1.46.
<u>1946-1947</u>			
Anderson	Mary von Schottland (Mary of Scotland)	Stuttgart	5.3.47.
Anouilh	Das Rendezvous von Senlis (Le Rendezvous de Senlis)	Bielefeld	12.6.47.
Behrmann	Biographie und Liebe (Biography)	Mannheim	17.10.46.
Claudé	Der seidene Schuh (Le Soulier de Satin)	Köln	20.10.46.
Cocteau	Die Schreibmaschine (La Machine à écrire)	Hamburg	15.8.47.
Coffee & Cowen	Eine Familie (Family Portrait)	Berlin	
v. Druten	Das Lied der Taube (The Voice of the Turtle)	Heidelberg	
Franken	Claudia	Berlin	4.7.47.
Frisch	Nun singen sie wieder	München	19.12.46.
Giraudoux	Undine (Ondine)	Kassel	
Harward (C.J. Braun)	Das verschlossene Haus	Bremen) Garmisch)	
Hayley-Bell	Zwei Hände (Duet for Two Hands)	Mannheim	8.3.47.
Hellman	Auf der anderen Seite (Watch on the Rhine)	Berlin	2.47.
Holm & Abbot	Drei Mann auf einem Pferd (Three Men on a Horse)	Berlin	
Horváth	Der jüngste Tag	München	3.4.47.
Job	Onkel Harry (Uncle Harry)	Bremen	
Kaiser	Das Los des Ossian Balvesen	Gießen	
Kaschnitz	Totentanz	Heidelberg	11.46.
Lange	Die Frau, die sich Helene wähnte	Wuppertal	
			Continued

TABLE XI continued

Author	Title	Place	Date
<u>1946-1947</u>			
Lavery	Monsignore's große Stunde (Monsignore's Hour)	Konstanz	3.47.
Mostar	Der Zimmerherr	Wuppertal	
Odets	Die das Leben ehren or Wach' auf und singe (Awake and Sing)	Bremen	9.46.
Osborn	Galgenfrist or Der Tod im Apfelbaum (On Borrowed Time)	Heidelberg	
Priestley	Ein Inspektor kommt (An Inspector calls)	Bremen	7.47.
Rattigan	Liebe im Müßiggang or Olivia und ihre Männer (Love in Idleness)	Kassel	
Reed	Ja, mein Liebling (Yes, my darling daughter)	Mannheim	6.7.47.
Rehfish	Quell der Verheißung	Berlin	
Rice	Die Rechenmaschine (The Adding Machine)	Karlsruhe	
Saroyan	Mein Herz ist im Hochland (My Heart's in the Highlands)	München	
Schwab	Der Morgan	Mannheim	30.3.47.
Schwarz	Der Schatten	Berlin	3.4.47.
Schweikart	Nebel	Karlsruhe	
Simonow	Die russische Frage	Berlin	3.5.47.
Toller	Pastor Hall	Berlin	25.1.47.
Weisenborn	Babel	Konstanz	7.2.47.
Werfel	Jacobowsky und der Oberst	Berlin	6.47.
Wolf	Die letzte Probe	Augsburg	3.12.46.
<u>1947-1948</u>			
Anouilh	Der Ball der Diebe (Le Bal des Voleurs)	Berlin	19.5.48.
	Einladung aufs Schloß (L'Invitation au château)	München	7.1.48.
			Continued ..

TABLE XI continued ...

Author	Title	Place	Date
<u>1947-1948</u>			
Borchert	Draußen vor der Tür	Hamburg	21.11.47.
Brecht	Furcht und Elend des Dritten Reiches	Berlin	30.1.48.
Bruckner	Heroische Komödie Die Rassen	Stuttgart Berlin	29.1.48. 3.1.48.
Camus	Caligula	Stuttgart	29.11.47.
Cocteau	Der Doppeladler (L'Aigle à deux têtes)	Bremen	1.48.
Eliot	Mord im Dom (Murder in the Cathedral)	Köln) München)	20.10.47.
Giraudoux	Die Irre von Chaillot (La Folle de Chaillot)	München	27.7.48.
Hauptmann	Agamemnons Tod) Elektra)	Berlin	10.9.47.
Jahn	Armut, Reichtum, Mensch und Tier	Hamburg	25.6.48.
Lindsay & Crouse	Der Herr im Haus (Life with Father)	Bremen	12.47.
Lorca	Bluthochzeit (Bodas de sangre)	Stuttgart	19.10.47.
Mostar	Putsch in Paris	Krefeld	12.3.48.
Nebhut	Der Teufel stellt Monsieur Darcy ein Bein	Bremen	9.47.
Obey	Vom Jenseits zurück (Revenu de l'Etoile)	Frankfurt	13.3.48.
Priestley	Familie Professor Linden (The Linden Tree)	Hamburg	23.1.48.
Salacrou	Die große Liebe	Tübingen	22.2.48.
Sartre	Die Fliegen (Les Mouches)	Düsseldorf	7.11.47.
Zuckmayer	Des Teufels General	Hamburg	8.11.47.

TABLE X STADTTHEATER KONSTANZ REPERTOIRE

1945-1946

Rössner: Karl III und Anna von Österreich	Coubier: Aimée or Der gesunde Menschenverstand
Frank: Sturm im Wasserglas	Lavery: Die erste Legion (DEA)
Calderon: Dame Kobold	Brecht: Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder (DEA)
Goethe: Iphigenie auf Tauris/Urfaust/Clavigo	Romains: Dr Knock or Triumph der Medizin
Nowak: Spuren im Schnee	Shakespeare: Was ihr wollt
Verneuil: Herr Lamberthier	Shaw: Helden
Beaumarchais: Der tolle Tag or Figaros Hochzeit	Grillparzer: Weh dem, der lügt
Sturm: Der ungetreue Ekkehart	Molnár: Riviera
Giraudoux: Amphitryon 38	Goldoni: Diener zweier Herren
Was auch immer geschieht (literarisches Kabarett)	

1946-1947

Koselka: Seltsamer Fünfuhrtee	Hofmannsthal: Der Tor und der Tod
Goethe: Die Geschwister/Die Mitschuldigen	Zuckmayer: Katharina Knie
Shakespeare: Ein Sommernachtstraum	Rolland: Ein Spiel von Tod und Liebe
Tschechow: Der Kirschgarten	Shaw: Candida
Hauptmann: Der Bogen des Odysseus	Ibsen: Peer Gynt
Weisenborn: Babel (UA)	Moreto: Donna Diana
	Lavery: Monsignorens große Stunde (DEA)

1947-1948

Pagnol: Zum goldenen Anker	Goetz: Das Haus in Montevideo
Braun: Diese Stadt ist voller Geheimnisse	Zuckmayer: Des Teufels General
Schiller: Der Parasit	Rattigan: Olivia und ihre Männer
Helwig: Der Barbar	Neumann: Der Patriot
Costa: Der Hofrat Geiger	Priestley: Ein Inspektor kommt
Ferdinand: Kinder der Zeit	Lessing: Nathan der Weise
Shakespeare: Der widerspenstigen Zähmung	Cocteau: Der Doppeladler

Source: Stadtarchiv Konstanz

TABLE XI STADTTHEATER TRIER REPERTOIRE

1945-1946 (from 6.10.1945)

Goetz: Ingeborg (opening)
Thomas: Charleys Tante
Goethe: Torquato Tasso/Clavigo
Schönthan: Raub der Sabinerinnen
Arnold and Bach: Die spanische Fliege
Ibsen: Gespenster
Schneewittchen u. Rosenrot ("Märchen")
Osterhäschens erste Fahrt in den Frühling ("Märchen")

1946-1947

Goethe: Urfaust
Shaw: Candida
Klabund: XYZ
Schiller Kabale und Liebe
Veiller: Mordprozeß Mary Dugan
Hebbel: Herodes and Marianne
Ivers: Bob macht sich gesund
Shakespeare: Ein Sommernachtstraum
Giraudoux: Siegfried
Hofmannsthal: Jedermann
Französische Gastspiele
Der gestiefelte Kater ("Märchen")

1947-1948

Schiller: Don Carlos
Hamilton: Gaslicht
Goetz: Hokuspokus
Müller and Nürnberg: Frischer Wind aus Kanada
Ghéon: Der Arme unter der Treppe
Lavery: Monsignorens große Stunde
Shakespeare: Was ihr wollt
Rolland: Ein Spiel von Liebe und Tod
Loets: Kean
Shaw: Helden
Engelbrecht: Besuch am Abend

Source: Claus Zander, Stadttheater Trier-Zerstörung u. Neubeginn
 (Trier, 1982)

TABLE XII

STADTTHEATER SAARBRÜCKEN

REPERTOIRE

1945-1946 (from 9.5.1946)

Hofmannsthal: Das große Welttheater (opening)

Burgkranz and Zimmer: Kuddelmuddel

Molière: Tartüff

Gorki: Nachtasyl

Balzer: Die Seifenblase

Goethe: Die Mitschuldigen/Die Geschwister

Rotkäppchen ("Märchen")

Einige französische Gastspiele, e.g. Comédie Française.

1946-1947 (from 15.1.1947)

Anouilh: Der Reisende ohne Gepäck

Molière: Der Geizige

Racine: Phädra

Arnold and Bach: Die spanische Fliege

Stief: Der verlorene Sohn (UA)

Wolf: Professor Mamlock

Arnold and Bach: Der keusche Lebemann

Goethe: Clavigo

Lenz: Duett zu Dritt

Stefan mit der langen Nase ("Märchen")

Französische Gastspiele mit Claudel, Feydeau etc.

e.g. Sartre: Les Mouches

1947-1948 (from 9.10.1947)

Schiller: Kabale und Liebe

Anouilh: Eurydike

Pagnol: Zum goldenen Anker

Shakespeare: Der widerspenstigen Zähmung

Molière: Tartüff

O'Neill: Trauer muß Elektra tragen

Gehri: Im sechsten Stock

Borchert: Draußen vor der Tür

Französische Gastspiele

e.g. Giraudoux: La Guerre de Troie n'aura pas lieu

Source: (Neue) Saarbrücker Zeitung, Stadtarchiv Saarbrücken

TABLE XIII

STÄDTISCHE BÜHNE BOCHUM

REPERTOIRE

1945-1946 (from 17.12.1945)

Grillparzer: Weh dem, der lügt (opening)
 Goetz: Dr. med. Hiob Prätorius
 Stelter: Schneeweißchen und Rosenrot
 Thomas: Charleys Tante
 Cantini: Abschiedssonate
 Schnitzler: Liebelei
 Coward: Intimitäten
 Molière: Der Tartüff
 Hauptmann: Die Ratten

Wilde: Bunbury
 Lessing: Nathan der Weise
 Hinrichs: Krach um Jolanthe
 Grillparzer: Sappho
 Goetz: Der Lampenschirm
 Spoerl: Die weiße Weste
 Goethe: Iphigenie auf Tauris
 Shakespeare: Hamlet

1946-1947

Hauptmann: Florian Geyer
 Ostrowskij: Der Wald
 Reißmann: Versprich mir nichts
 Hebbel: Gyges und sein Ring
 Verneuil: Herr Lamberthier
 Scribe: Das Glas Wasser
 Grillparzer: Des Meeres und der
 Liebe Wellen
 Hauptmann: Der Biberpelz
 Anouilh: Der Reisende ohne Gepäck
 Kayssler: Jan, der Wunderbare

Freytag: Die Journalisten
 Arnold/Bach: Die spanische Fliege
 Shaw: Frau Warrens Gewerbe
 Shakespeare: König Richard der
 Zweite
 Shakespeare: Wie es euch gefällt
 Goethe: Iphigenie auf Tauris (WA)
 Goetz: Der Lampenschirm (WA)
 Grillparzer: Sappho (WA)
 Shakespeare: Hamlet (WA)
 Hänsel und Gretel ("Märchen")

1947-1948

Shakespeare: Romeo und Julia
 Osborn: Der Tod im Apfelbaum
 Tolstoi: Macht der Finsternis
 Jüngst: Die Witwe von Gerona (UA)
 Gehri: Himmel! Wir sind Verwandte
 Neubert: Zweimal klingeln
 O'Neill: Trauer muß Elektra tragen
 Molnár: Olympia
 Thierbach: Ein gut' Gewissen
 Goethe: Die Geschwister/Die Laune
 des Verliebten

Hebbel: Judith
 Hesse: Frau Bettine
 Shakespeare: König Richard der
 Dritte
 Cocteau: Der Doppeladler
 Obey: Vom Jenseits zurück
 Shaw: Der Teufelsschüler
 Shakespeare: König Richard der
 Zweite (WA)
 Shakespeare: Wie es euch gefällt
 (WA)
 Shaw: Frau Warrens Gewerbe (WA)
 Der gestiefelte Kater ("Märchen")

Source: Stadtarchiv Bochum

TABLE XIV

BÜHNEN DER STADT BONN

REPERTOIRE

1945-1946 (from 15.12.1945)

Lessing: Nathan der Weise (opening)

Hauptmann: Elga

Thomas: Charleys Tante

Halbe: Der Strom

Braun: Mit meinen Augen

Ivers: Parkstraße 13

Goethe: Stella/Iphigenie

Lonsdale: Zur gepflegten
Ansicht

Niccodemi: Scampolo

Rössner: Karl III und Anna von
Österreich

1946-1947

Barlach: Der tote Tag

Schiller: Die Braut von Messina

Shakespeare: Was ihr wollt

Arnold and Bach: Der keusche Lehemann

Kleist: Der zerbrochene Krug

Shaw: Cäsar und Cleopatra

Raszum: Die Gräfin von
Patignolles

Hebbel: Maria Magdalena

Hauptmann: Fuhrmann Henschel

Wolf: Professor Mamlock

de Vega: Was kam denn da ins
Haus?

Rössner: Karl III und Anna von
Österreich (WA)

Rotkäppchen ("Märchen")

Peterchens Mondfahrt ("Märchen")

Dargestohlene Osterei ("Märchen")

Nikolaus und Silberhaar ("Märchen")

1947-1948

Wilder: Eine kleine Stadt

Ernst: Flachsmann als Erzieher

Lessing: Emilia Galotti

Bahr: Das Konzert

Schiller: Die Räuber

Aischylos: Der gefesselte Prometheus

Strindberg: Christus

Anouilh: Eurydike

Wilde: Bunbury

Shaw: Candida

Source: Stadtarchiv Bonn

Borchert: Draußen vor der Tür

Ruhrmann: Deutscher Totentanz

Wolf: Beaumarchais

Molière: Tartüff

Gedicke: Dissonanz

Nebhut: Der Teufel stellt M.
Darcy ein Bein

Ritter Blaubart ("Märchen")

Aladin wird Sultan ("Märchen")

TABLE XV KAMMERSCHAUSPIELE BONN REPERTOIRE

Kammerschauspiele Bonn

1945-1946 (from 13.7.1945)

Sturm and Färber: Extemporale

Schiller: Kabale und Liebe

Goethe: Faust I

Moreto: Donna Diana

Goetz: Ingeborg

Neue Kammerspiele Bonn

1946-1947

Schiller: Maria Stuart

v. Ambesser: Das Abgründige in Herrn
Gerstenberg

Shakespeare: Hamlet

Goethe: Torquato Tasso

Sudermann: Johannisfeuer

Schönthan: Raub der Sabinerinnen

Hofmannsthal: Jedermann

Pfeiffe : Pygmalion wird kuriert

Veiller: Mordprozeß Mary Dugan

Helwig: Flitterwochen

Kästner: Emil und die Detektive

Goetz: Ingeborg (WA)

1947-1948

Schiller: Don Carlos

Niccodemi: Scampolo

Ardrey: Leuchtfeuer

Laufs & Jacoby: Pension Schöllner

Scheu & Nebhut: Der Kleine Herr
Niemand

Shaw: Pygmalion

Neumann: Der Patriot

Lessing: Nathan der Weise

Shakespeare: Der widerspenstigen
Zähmung

Goethe: Faust I

Kaiser: Der Soldat Tanaka

Behrmann: Biographie and Liebe

Hauptmann: Rose Bernd

Grillparzer: Sappho

Lindau: Der Andere

Source: Stadtarchiv Bonn

TABLE XVI

STÄDTISCHE BÜHNEN DÜSSELDORF

REPERTOIRE

1945-1946 (from 23.9.1945)

Coubier: Aimée (opening)	Wolf: Professor Mamlock
Kaiser: Oktobertag	Schnitzler: Liebelei
Goethe: Iphigenie auf Tauris	Shaw: Candida
Ibsen: Nora	Eulenberg: Der Übergang
Lessing: Nathan der Weise	Tschechow: Der Bär/Ein Heiratsantrag
Schiller: Kabale und Liebe	Tolstoi: Er ist an allem schuld
Klabund: XYZ	Schurek: Straßenmusik
Ardrey: Leuchtfeuer	Schneewittchen ("Marchen")

1946-1947

Shakespeare: Maß für Maß	Eulenberg: Der natürliche Vater
Molière: Tartüff	Strindberg: Ostern
Bridie: Tobias und der Engel	Pagnol: Das große ABC
Anouilh: Eurydike	Wolf: Professor Mamlock (WA)
Harward: Das verschlossene Haus	Ardrey: Leuchtfeuer (WA)
Büchner: Leonce und Lena	Schiller: Kabale und Liebe (WA)
Hauptmann: Die Weber	Lessing: Nathan der Weise (WA)
Calderon: Dame Kobold	Ibsen: Nora (WA)
	Aladdin ("Märchen")

1947-1948

v. Druten: Das Lied der Taube	Behrmann: Biographie und Liebe
Goethe: Clavigo	Sartre: Die Fliegen (DEA)
Bergmann: Der Nobelpreis	Benatzky/Adler: Meine Nichte Susanne
Lindsay/Crouse: Der Herr im Haus	Schiller: Turandot
Grabbe: Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung	Harward: Das verschlossene Haus (WA)
Shaw: Helden	Pagnol: Das große ABC (WA)
Tschechow: Die Möwe	Der gestiefelte Kater ("Märchen")
Priestley: Ein Inspektor kommt	
Kleist: Amphitryon	
Sophokles: König Oedipus	

Source: H. Schwab-Felisch, Das Düsseldorfer Schauspielhaus
(Düsseldorf, 1970)

TABLE XVII

STÄDTISCHE BÜHNEN HAGEN

REPERTOIRE

1945-1946 (from 9.9.1945)

Thomas: Charleys Tante

Goethe: Iphigenie auf Tauris

Coubier: Aimée or Der gesunde
Menschenverstand

Schiller: Kabale und Liebe

Schneeweißchen und Rosenrot
("Märchen")

1946-1947

Schiller: Maria Stuart

Schönthan: Raub der Sabinerinnen

Spoerl: Die weiße Weste

Maugham: Die heilige Flamme

Hauptmann: Rose Bernd

Wallace: Der Hexer

Hebbel: Gyges und sein Ring

Anouilh: Antigone

Hauptmann: Hanneles Himmelfahrt

Shakespeare: Othello

Hauptmann: Vor Sonnenaufgang

Hauptmann: Der Biberpelz

Hänsel und Gretel ("Märchen")

Roberts: Ehe in Dosen

Mathern/Impekoven: Angelika

Niewiarowicz: Ich liebe Dich

1947-1948

Hamilton: Gaslicht

Rolland: Spiel von Tod und Liebe

Hopwood: Der Mustergatte

Verneuil: Herr Lamberthier

Zuckmayer: Des Teufels General

Tscheglow: Der Wirbelsturm

Holm/Abbot: Drei Mann auf einem Pferd

Schiller: Don Carlos

Braun: Mit meinen Augen

Lenz: Hochzeitsreise ohne Mann

Shaw: Die heilige Johanna

Lavery: Monsignores große Stunde

v. Druten: Das Lied der Taube

Lessing: Nathan der Weise

Peterchens Mondfahrt ("Märchen")

Source: Stadtarchiv Hagen

TABLE XVIII

DEUTSCHES SCHAUSPIELHAUS HAMBURG

REPERTOIRE

1945-1946 (from 6.10.1945)

Gogol: Der Revisor (opening)
 Shakespeare: Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung
 Hofmannsthal: Jedermann
 Fulda: Jugendfreunde
 Lessing: Nathan
 Goethe: Iphigenie
 Scribe: Das Glas Wasser
 Grillparzer: Weh dem, der lügt

Jonson: Volpone
 Sophokles: Antigone
 Molnár: Liliom
 Schönthan: Raub der Sabinerinnen
 Giraudoux: Sodom und Gomorrha (DEA)
 Shakespeare: Der Sturm
 Helwig: Am helllichten Tage

1946-1947

Barlach: Die Sündflut
 Büchner: Dantons Tod
 Brecht: Die Dreigroschenoper
 Buch: Pinkepunk
 Giraudoux: Undine
 Shakespeare: Zweierlei Maß
 Hauptmann: Die Weber

Nestroy: Lumpacivagabundus
 O'Neill: Trauer muß Elektra tragen (DEA)
 Russischer Komödienabend:
 Gogol: Der Spieler
 Tolstoi: Er ist an allem schuld
 Tschechow: Der Bär/Der Heiratsantrag

Source: P. T. Hoffmann, ed., Hamburger Jahrbuch für Theater und Musik 1947-48

1947-1948

de Vega: Was kam denn da ins Haus?
 Shakespeare: Hamlet/Viel Lärm um Nichts
 Zuckmayer: Des Teufels General (DEA)
 Schiller: Die Räuber
 Shaw: Cäsar und Cleopatra
 Tolstoi: Der Lebende Leichnam
 Hauptmann: Der Biberpelz
 Werfel: Jacobowsky und der Oberst
 Holm/Abbot: Drei Mann auf einem Pferd

Jahnn: Armut, Reichtum, Mensch und Tier (UA)
 Priestley: Ein Inspektor kommt
 Kästner: Leben in dieser Zeit
 Kleist: Der zerbrochene Krug
 Molière: Heirat wieder wollen
 Lavery: Monsignorens große Stunde
 Shaw: Der Mann des Schicksals
 Buch: Pinkepunk (WA)

Source: P. T. Hoffmann, ed., Hamburger Jahrbuch für Theater und Musik 1948-49

TABLE XIX

HAMBURGER KAMMERSPIELE

REPERTOIRE

1945-1946 (from 10.12.1945)

Ardrey: Leuchtfeuer (opening)
v. Ambesser: Das Abgründige in Herrn
Gerstenberg (UA)
Bruckner: Die Marquise von O
Osborn: Familienleben (DEA)

Shaw: Der Ackermann und der Tod
Shaw: Frau Warrens Gewerbe
Spoerl: Die weiße Weste (UA)
Prinzessin Hüschenwind ("Märchen")

1946-1947

Anouilh: Eurydike
Benatzky: Meine Nichte Susanne
v. Druten: Das Lied der Taube
Giraudoux: Der trojanische Krieg
wird nicht stattfinden
Ibsen: Die Wildente
Kaiser: Der Soldat Tanaka
Saroyan: Mein Herz ist im Hochland

Tagore: Das Postamt
Wilder: Wir sind noch einmal davon
gekommen
Spoerl: Die weiße Weste (WA)
Osborn: Familienleben (WA)
Ardrey: Leuchtfeuer (WA)
Ambesser: Das Abgründige in Herrn
Gerstenberg (WA)

1947-1948

Borchert: Draußen vor der Tür (UA)
Euripides/Werfel: Die Troerinnen
Franken: Claudia
Giraudoux: Amphitryon 38
Katajew: Eine Schnur geht durchs
Zimmer
Lavery: Die erste Legion
Lindsay & Crouse: Der Herr im
Haus
Sternheim: Bürger Schippel

Shaw: Der Kaiser von Amerika
Schiller: Maria Stuart
v. Druten: Das Lied der Taube (WA)
Wilder: Wir sind noch einmal
davongekommen (WA)
Gastspiel Düsseldorf: Sartre: Die
Fliegen
Gastspiel Compagnie Jean Marchat:
Giraudoux: La Guerre de Troie
n'aura pas lieu

Source: Theatersammlung der Hansestadt Hamburg

TABLE XX

STÄDTISCHE BÜHNEN KÖLN

REPERTOIRE

1945-1946

Shakespeare: Ein Sommernachtstraum (opèning)

Pfeiffe: Pygmalion wird kuriert (UA)

Ardrey: Leuchtfeuer

Frank: Nina

Hofmannsthal: Jedermann

Pagnol: Zum goldenen Anker

Schiller: Kabale und Liebe

Shakespeare: Hamlet

Sophokles: Antigone

Strindberg: Ein Traumspiel

Wilde: Lady Windermere's Fächer

1946-1947

Feiler: Die sechste Frau

Wilder: Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen

Claudèl: Der seidene Schuh (DEA)

Rolland: Ein Spiel von Tod und Liebe

Büchner: Leonce u. Lena/Woyzeck

Goethe: Iphigenie

Molnár: Spiel im Schloß

Shakespeare: Othello/Der widerspenstigen Zähmung

1947-1948

Schäferdiek: Jedermann 1948 (UA)

Eliot: Mord im Dom (DEA)

Borchert: Draußen vor der Tür

Giraudoux: Der trojanische Krieg wird nicht stattfinden

Goethe: Urfaust

Goetz: Dr. med. Hiob Prätorius

Hofmannsthal: Das große Welttheater

Obey: Vom Jenseits zurück

Rice: Die Rechenmaschine

Zuckmayer: Des Teufels General

Lessing: Emilia Galotti

Schiller: Don Carlos

Scribe: Ein Glas Wasser

Tolstoi: Die Macht der Finsternis

Source: Theatermuseum der Universität Köln

TABLE XXI

STÄDTISCHE BÜHNEN MÜNCHEN-GLADBACH/RHEYDT

REPERTOIRE

1945-1946

Shakespeare: Ein Sommernachtstraum (opening)	Strindberg: Ostern
Hauptmann: Elga	Veiller: Prozeß Mary Dugan
Helwig: Flitterwochen	Thomas: Charleys Tante
Goethe: Iphigenie auf Tauris	Claudé: Die Verkündigung
Zuckmayer: Katharina Knie	Rolland: Ein Spiel von Liebe und Tod

1946-1947

Shakespeare: Hamlet	Lavery: Die erste Legion
Goethe: Torquato Tasso	Harward: Das verschlossene Haus
Molière: Der eingebildete Kranke	Benatzky: Meine Schwester und ich
Hebbel: Herodes und Mariamme	O'Neill: Trauer muß Elektra tragen
Molina: Don Gil mit den grünen Hosen	Büchner: Trauwalied
Schiller: Turandot	Arnold/Bach: Hurra - ein Junge Die spanische Fliege
Hauptmann: Rose Bernd	Impekoven/Mathern: Die drei Zwillinge
Giraudoux: Der trojanische Krieg wird nicht stattfinden	Claudé: Die Verkündigung (WA)
Bridie: Tobias und der Engel	Schneewittchen und Rosenrot ("Märchen")
	Aschenputtel ("Märchen")

1947-1948

Shakespeare: Zwei Herren aus Verona	Lavery: Monsignorens große Stunde
Lessing: Nathan der Weise	Mostar: Meier Helmbrecht
Schiller: Don Carlos	Schwiefert: Marguerite: 3
Sheridan: Die Lästerschule	Helwig: Der Barbar
Grillparzer: Der Traum - ein Leben	Aucoutrier: Ein Don Juan
Ostrowskij: Der Wald	O'Neill: Trauer muß Elektra tragen (WA)
Claudé: Der Tausch	Impekoven/Mathern: Die drei Zwillinge (WA)
Shaw: Pygmalion	Die Mondkönigin ("Märchen")
Priestley: Ein Inspektor kommt	

Source: Stadtarchiv Krefeld-Mönchengladbach

TABLE XXII

LANDESTHEATER COBURG

REPERTOIRE

1945-1946 (from 5.10.1945)

Goethe: Die Laune des Verliebten }
Molière: Der eingebildete Kranke } (opening)

Maugham: Die heilige Flamme

Rehfisch: Wasser für Canitoga

Klabund: Der Kreidekreis

Shakespeare: Hamlet

Fodor: Arm wie eine Kirchenmaus

Zinn: Die gute Sieben

1946-1947

Schiller: Die Räuber

Shakespeare: Sommernachtstraum

Freybe: Ein kleines Leben (UA)

Wilder: Unsere kleine Stadt

Calderon: Dame Kobold

Feller: Kleopatra die zweite

Braun: Mit meinen Augen

Goethe: Iphigenie auf Tauris

Goetz: Ingeborg

Verneuil: Herr Lambethier

Wolf: Professor Mamlock

Goetz: Hokuspokus

Hamilton: Gaslicht

Frank: Sturm im Wasserglas

Michael: Ausflug mit Damen

Hofmannsthal: Jedermann

1947-1948

Lessing: Nathan der Weise

Schwiefert: Marguerite: 3

Shaw: Die heilige Johanna

Schwarz: Der Schatten

Frisch: Nun singen sie wieder

Osborn: Galgenfrist

Nestroy: Lumpacivagabundus

Hauptmann: Die Weber

Molnár: Spiel im Schloß

Source: Landesbibliothek Coburg

<u>TABLE XXIII</u>	<u>LANDESTTHEATER DARMSTADT</u>	<u>REPERTOIRE</u>
	(Hessisches Landestheater)	

1945-1946 (from 15.12.1945)

Goethe: Iphigenie (opening)	Kästner: Emil und die Detektive
Wilder: Wir sind noch einmal davon- gekommen (DEA)	Weisenborn: Die Illegalen
Anouilh: Antigone (DEA)	Calderon: Dame Kobold
Klabund: XYZ	Braun: Mit meinen Augen
Katajew: Ein Strich geht durchs Zimmer	Herrmann: Das Gotteskind
Schiller/Picard: Der Parasit	

1946-1947

Schiller: Maria Stuart	Odets: Die das Leben ehren
Büchner: Dantons Tod	Shakespeare: Wie es Euch gefällt
Ardrey: Leuchtfeuer	Rolland: Spiel von Tod und Liebe
Harward: Das verschlossene Haus	Hauptmann: Iphigenie in Delphi
Frank: Sturm im Wasserglas	Gehri: Im 6. Stock
Goetz: Ingeborg	Verneuil: Herr Lamberthier
Scribe: Ein Glas Wasser	Anouilh: Der Passagier ohne Gepäck
Rössler: Philine	Dornröschen ("Märchen")
Zweig: Der verwandelte Komödiant	

1947-1948

v. Brentano: Phädra (UA)	Kaiser: Der Soldat Tanaka
Schönthan: Der Raub der Sabinerinnen	Feiler: Kleopatra die Zweite
Wilder: Unsere kleine Stadt	Bahr: Das Konzert
v. Druten: Das Lied der Taube	Michael: Ausflug mit Damen
Goethe: Torquato Tasso	Niebergall: Datterich
Shakespeare: Hamlet	Coubier: Aimée
	König Drosselbart ("Märchen")

Source: Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt

TABLE XXIV

STÄDTISCHE BÜHNEN FRANKFURT

REPERTOIRE

1945-1946 (from 5.9.1945)

Goetz: Ingeborg (opening)	Anouilh: Eurydike (DEA)
Hübner: Lanzelot und Sanderein	Hellwig: Krampus u. Angelika
Coubier: Aimée	Verneuil: Herr Lamberthier
Molière: Der eingebildete Kranke	Hochwälder: Der Flüchtling
Kaiser: Der Gärtner von Toulouse	Geyer: Eine kleine Komödie
Wilder: Eine kleine Stadt	Shakespeare: Was ihr wollt
Molnár: Spiel im Schloß	Hofmannsthal: Jedermann
Grillparzer: Medea	Der Lügenpeter ("Märchen")
Ardrey: Leuchtfeuer	

1946-1947

Hamilton: Gaslicht	Coward: Intimitäten
v. Druten: Das Lied der Taube	Reed: Ja, mein Liebling
Rolland: Ein Spiel von Tod und Liebe	Lessing: Nathan der Weise
Giraudoux: Der trojanische Krieg findet nicht statt	Feiler: Die sechste Frau
Lessing: Emilia Galotti	Himstedt: Söhne (UA)
Goldoni: Diener zweier Herren	O'Neill: Trauer muß Elektra tragen
Riess: Entscheidung (UA)	Molnár: Spiel im Schloß (WA)
Harward: Das verschlossene Haus	Geyer: Eine kleine Komödie (WA)
Bergmann: Der Nobelpreis	Shakespeare: Was ihr wollt (WA)
Goethe: Die Geschwister/Die Laune des Verliebten	Gastspiel Hessisches Staatstheater Wiesbaden: Wilder: Wie sind noch einmal davongekommen

1947-1948

Schiller: Don Carlos	Zuckmayer: Des Teufels General
Shaw: Man kann nie wissen	Gressieker: Der Regenbogen (UA)
Wolf: Professor Mamlock	Lommer: Das Tausendjährige Reich
Priestley: Ein Inspektor kommt	Molnár: Spiel im Schloß (WA)
Franken: Claudia	Hamilton: Gaslicht (WA)
v. Ambesser: Das Abgründige in Herrn Gerstenberg	Lessing: Nathan der Weise (WA)
	Kästner, v. Ambesser et al.: Humor im Schatten

Source: Theatermuseum der Universität Köln

TABLE XXV

NATIONALTHEATER MANNHEIM

REPERTOIRE

1945-1946 (from 11.11.1945)

Hofmannsthal: Jedermann (opening)
Goetz: Dr. med. Hiob Prätorius
Kaiser: Der Gärtner von Toulouse (UA)
Klabund: XYZ
Braun: Mit meinen Augen
Rolland: Ein Spiel von Tod und Liebe

Ambesser: Das Abgründige in Herrn
Gerstenberg
Verneuil: Herr Lamberthier
Molnár: Spiel im Schloß
Das tapfere Schneiderlein
("Märchen")

1946-1947

Schiller: Don Carlos
Behrman: Biographie und Liebe (DEA)
Bergman: Der Nobelpreis
Tschechow: Der Bär
Tschechow: Der Heiratsantrag
Gogol: Heiratsgeschichte
Werfel: Die Troerinnen
Goldoni: Diener zweier Herren

Hayley-Bell: Zwei Hände (DEA)
Arnold/Bach: Der wahre Jakob
Schwab: Der Morgen (UA)
Lessing: Nathan der Weise
Feiler: Die sechste Frau
Reed: Ja, mein Liebling (DEA)
Molnár: Spiel im Schloß (WA)
Verneuil: Herr Lamberthier (WA)
Stefan mit der langen Nase
("Märchen")

1947-1948

Shakespeare: Ein Sommernachtstraum
Frisch: Nun singen sie wieder
Priestley: Ein Inspektor kommt
Schönthan: Der Raub der Sabinerinnen
Schiller: Kabale und Liebe
Herrmann: Das Gotteskind
Giraudoux: Der trojanische Krieg findet
nicht statt
Zuckmayer: Des Teufels General

Niebergall: Datterich
Laufs/Jacoby: Pension Schöllner
Büchner: Dantons Tod
Shaw: Candida
Linz: Der Doppelgänger (UA)
Feiler: Die sechste Frau (WA)
Lessing: Nathan der Weise (WA)
Reed: Ja, mein Liebling (WA)

Source: Städtisches Reiss-Museum Mannheim, Theatersammlung

TABLE XXVI

STADTTHEATER GIESSEN

REPERTOIRE

1945-1946 (from 16.11.1945)

Goethe: Faust (opening)

Schnitzler: Liebelei

Lessing: Emilia Galotti

Gorki: Nachtsyl

Ardrey: Leuchfeuer

Benatzky: Bezauberndes Fräulein

1945-1947

Osborn: Galgenfrist

Mell: Apostelspiel

Molière: Der Geizige/Die gelehrten
Frauen

Goetz: Dr. med. Hiob Praetorius

Grillparzer: Medea

Verneuil: Herr Lamberthier

Zuckmayer: Der Hauptmann von
Köpenick

Holm and Abbot: Drei Mann auf einem
Pferd

Lessing: Nathan der Weise

Schiller: Don Carlos

Hebbel: Gyges und sein Ring

Shaw: Pygmalion

Anouilh: Antigone

Hauptmann: Rose Bernd

Molnár: Spiel im Schloß

Kaiser: Das Los der Össian Belvesen
(DEA)

Treichlinger: Göttin, versuche die
Menschen nicht (UA)

Four light comedies in Summer programme

Fischer: Heimkehr (UA)

Frau Holle ("Märchen")

Robinson ("Märchen")

1947-1948

Goethe: Iphigenie auf Tauris

Arbusow: Tanja

Goetz: Hokuspokus

Wolf: Professor Mamlock

Rostand: Der Mann, den sein
Gewissen trieb

Behrman: Biographie und Liebe

Hamilton: Gaslicht

Shakespeare: Richard III

Harward: Das verschlossene Haus

Lavery: Die erste Legion

Schiller: Kabale und Liebe

Hauptmann: Hanneles Himmelfahrt

Ambesser: Lebensmut zu hohen Preisen

Priestley: Ein Inspektor kommt

Neumann: Der Patriot

Adler: Mein Nichte Susanne

Huth: Der goldene Kranz

Der Glücksmichel ("Märchen")

Source: Theater der Stadt Gießen, ed., Festschrift 1947 (Gießen, 1947)

TABLE XXVII

STAATSSCHAUSPIEL MÜNCHEN

REPERTOIRE

1945-1946 (from 31.3.1946)

Shakespeare: Ein Sommernachtstraum
(opening)

Lessing: Nathan der Weise (opening
Theater am Brunnenhof)

Ardrey: Leuchtfeuer

Anouilh: Antigone

Molnár: Liliom

v. Spallart: Tintenspritzer

1946-1947

Racine: Phädra

Hauptmann: Und Pippa tanzt

Wilder: Wir sind noch einmal
davongekommen

Mell: Ein altes deutsches Weihnachts-
spiel

Goethe: Clavigo
Stella

Rattigan: Liebe im Müßiggang

Schiller: Maria Stuart

Sauer: Van Gogh (UA)

Kaiser: Der Soldat Tanaka

Holm/Abbot: Drei Mann auf einem
Pferd

1947-1948

Eliot: Mord im Dom (DEA)

Strindberg: Ein Traumspiel

Anouilh: Einladung aufs Schloß (DEA)

Engel: Treibgut (UA)

Gogol: Der Revisor

Schiller: Don Carlos

Zuckmayer: Der Hauptmann von
Köpenick

Vogel: Anno Domini nach der Pest
(UA)

Coward: Weekend

Source: Archiv des Bayerischen Staatsschauspiels München

TABLE XXVIII

STÄDTISCHE BÜHNEN MÜNCHEN KAMMERSPIELE

REPERTOIRE

1945-1946 (from 12.10.1945)

Shakespeare: Macbeth (opening)

Raynal: Das Grabmal des unbekannten Soldaten

Katajew: Ein Strich geht durchs Zimmer

Wilder: Unsere kleine Stadt

Molnár: Spiel im Schloß

Ambesser: Lebensmut zu hohen Preisen

Hebbel: Herodes und Mariamme

Niccodemi: Tageszeiten der Liebe

Giraudoux: Der trojanische Krieg wird nicht stattfinden (DEA)

Shakespeare: Der Sturm

Goetz: Menagerie; Toby; Der Hund im Horn; Minna Magdalena

Kästner: Emil und die Detektive

Wolf: Professor Mamlock

Der gestiefelte Kater ("Märchen")

1946-1947

Osborn: Der Tod im Apfelbaum

v. Ambesser: Das Abgründige in Herrn Gerstenberg

Hamilton: Gaslicht

Frisch: Nun singen sie wieder (DEA)

Horváth: Der jüngste Tag (DEA)

v. Druten: Das Lied der Taube

Lavery: Die erste Legion

Anouilh: Eurydike

Wolf: Professor Mamlock (WA)

1947-1948

Claudel: Der seidene Schuh

Ostrowskij: Das tolle Geld

Priestley: Ein Inspektor kommt

Zuckmayer: Des Teufels General

Tschechow: Die Möwe

Achard: Die Zeit des Glücks

Giraudoux: Die Irre von Chaillot (DEA)

Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind ("Märchen")

Source: Archiv der Münchner Kammerspiele, München

TABLE XXIX

WÜRTTEMBERGISCHES STAATSTHEATER STUTTGART

REPERTOIRE

1945-1946 (from 4.8.1945)

Hofmannsthal: Jedermann (opening)	Rolland: Ein Spiel von Tod und Liebe
Zuckmayer: Katharina Knie	Kleist: Der zerbrochene Krug
Lessing: Nathan der Weise	Anouilh: Antigone
Goetz: Ingeborg	Shakespeare: Macbeth
Schiller: Don Carlos	Verneuil: Herr Lamberthier
Herrmann: Das Gotteskind	Wolf: Professor Mamlock
Shakespeare: Was ihr wollt	

1946-1947

Moreto: Donna Diana	Anderson: Mary von Schottland (DEA)
Schiller: Kabale und Liebe	Osborn: Galgenfrist
Hamilton: Gaslicht	Wilder: Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen
Giraudoux: Der trojanische Krieg fällt aus	Lange: Die Frau, die sich Helena wähnte
Ibsen: Gespenster	Schurek: Straßenmusik
Mell: Das Apostelspiel	Shakespeare: Macbeth (WA)
Anzengruber: Der G'wissenswurm	Rolland: Spiel von Tod und Liebe (WA)
Katajew: Ein Strich geht durchs Zimmer	Verneuil: Herr Lamberthier (WA)
Goethe: Faust I	Wolf: Professor Mamlock (WA)
	Anouilh: Antigone (WA)

1947-1948

Lorca: Bluthochzeit (DEA)	Mochmann/Aristophanes: Lysistrata
Priestley: Ein Inspektor kommt	Goldoni: Mirandolina
Camus: Caligula (DEA)	Schönthan: Der Raub der Sabinerinnen
Goethe: Iphigenie auf Tauris	Hebbel: Gyges und sein Ring
Bruckner: Heroische Komödie (DEA)	Wilder: Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen (WA)
Shaw: Candida	Ibsen: Gespenster (WA)
Giraudoux: Undine	Anouilh: Antigone (WA)
Schweikart: Nebel	Goethe: Faust I (WA)
O'Neill: Trauer muß Elektra tragen	

Source: Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart

NOTES

"Was spielten die Theater?"

The Theatres

1. D. Hadamczik, J. Schmidt, W. Schulze-Reimpell, Was spielten die Theater? (Köln, 1978), p.9.
2. In Berlin two students of theatre studies at the Freie Universität, H. Praetor and S. Hertwig, are currently trying to reconstruct German repertoires for the period 1945-1956. Due to the inaccessibility and unreliability of sources they are unlikely to be able to collate their information before 1987.
3. Letter of 13.5.1981 from K. Komin, Städtische Bühne Hagen to the author.
4. W. Schulze-Reimpell, Development and Structure of the Theatre in the Federal Republic of Germany (Bonn-Bad Godesberg, 1979), p.10.
5. Letter of 19.12.1985 from Dieter Hadamczik, Mykenae Verlag, Darmstadt to the author.
6. Conversation with Dr. Schulze-Reimpell, 13.12.1985.
7. Dahlmann, Theater-Almanach 1946/47, p.373.
8. Erpenbeck, Theaterdienst, I (1946).
9. Erpenbeck, I (1946).
10. Dahlmann, Theater-Almanach 1947, pp.457-8, GDBA, Deutsches Bühnenjahrbuch, 1945-1948.
11. Erpenbeck, 2 (1947).
12. Dahlmann, Theater-Almanach 1946/47, pp.351-376.
13. Dahlmann 1946/47, p.270ff and 1947, p.281ff.

14. B. E. Werner in Dahlmann, 1946/47, p.299ff and O. Herrmann
in Dahlmann, 1947, p.329ff.
15. W. Schimmig in Dahlmann, 1947, p.300ff and U. Seelmann-Eggebert
in Dahlmann, 1947, p.324ff.
16. Dr. P. T. Hoffmann, ed., Hamburger Jahrbuch für Theater und Musik
(Hamburg, 1947/1949).
17. H. Jhering, ed., Theaterstadt Berlin (Berlin, 1948).
18. H. Schwab-Felisch, Das Düsseldorfer Schauspielhaus
(Düsseldorf, 1970).
19. Stadttheater Gießen, ed., Festschrift 1947: Zum 40-jährigen
Jubiläum des Stadttheaters Gießen (Gießen, 1947).
20. Dahlmann, 1947, p.463.
21. For example, S. Kienzle, Schauspielführer der Gegenwart
(Stuttgart, 1978), p.316.
22. W. Allgayer, ed., Dramenlexikon (Köln/Berlin, 1958).
23. F. Luft in Irgendwie ging's weiter on Deutschlandfunk, 6.4.1986.

NOTES

Premieres

1. F. Tündern, "Die Baulücke im Spielplan" in P. Rilla, ed., Dramaturgische Blätter, 4 (1947), p.32.
2. V. Gollancz, In Darkest Germany (London, 1947), p.98ff.
3. Percentages are rounded off to one decimal place.
4. "Antifa" which is the abbreviation for "Antifaschismus" was originally coined in Italy as a term embracing movements and organizations in opposition to non-Communist authoritarian ideologies and forms of state. In the German context "Antifa"-drama usually describes plays which, following from this definition, are anti-Nazi in character.
5. Prior to the official re-opening and re-naming of the theatre on 7 September 1945 it was still known as the Deutsches Theater.
6. Cf. "The Occupying Powers".
7. Incorrect citings include Dahlmann, Theater-Almanach 1947 (p.466); Allgayer, entry for Unsere kleine Stadt but also much more recently Elisabeth Angemair in Trümmerzeit in München in which she refers to the München production as the "deutsche(n) Erstaufführung".

E. Angemair, "Theaterleben in den ersten Nachkriegsjahren" in F. Prinz, ed., Trümmerzeit in München (München, 1984), p.196.
8. For example: H. Jhering, Theaterstadt Berlin (Berlin, 1948).

9. Cf. articles such as the review by Dr. Ernst Brasch in the Konstanz newspaper Südkurier entitled "Bert Brechts moralische Anstalt" and dated 4 June 1946 or the article by C. Weichardt in the same newspaper dated 19 February 1948 in which he refers to the production as one of the most important cultural events of the post-war years.
10. This production is cited by G. Busch, for example, in his book Materialien zu Brechts Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder (Frankfurt, 1964) while no mention whatsoever is made of the production in Konstanz by Reclams Schauspielführer (Stuttgart, 1978), p.755 and so on.
11. B. Brecht, letter of end 1945/beginning 1946 to P. Suhrkamp in G. Glaeser, ed., Brecht Briefe (Frankfurt, 1981), p.518.
12. W. Fielder in V. Canaris, Anouilh (Hannover, 1968), p.136.
13. Münchener Merkur, 23.12.1945.
14. Cf., for example, P. Rilla, "H. J. Rehfisch, Quell der Verheißung" in Pfelling, pp.116-9 (Newspaper article of 19.9.1946) or Dr. W. Schimmig, "Berlin" in Dahlmann, 1947, p.305.
15. Rilla, "Komödien aus Amerika" in Pfelling, pp.211-5 (Newspaper article of 8.7.1947).
16. Schimmig in Dahlmann, 1947, p.308.
17. W. A. Peters, ed., Die Quelle, 1 (1947), p.117.
18. Rilla, "Die Russische Frage" in Pfelling, pp.190-5 (Newspaper article of 6.5.1947).
19. Luft in Reichhardt, p.15.
20. Cf., for example, U. Seelmann-Eggbert in Dahlmann, 1947, p.350.

21. H. Jhering, "Die ersten Begegnungen" in Theater der produktiven Widersprüche (Berlin, DDR, 1967), p.94 (Newspaper article of 1.1.1947).
22. I. Ehre, Gott hat einen größeren Kopf, mein Kind (Hamburg, 1985), p.178.
23. P. Steiner and H. Rischbieter, "Sartres Fliegen: Freiheit oder Reue" in Theater heute, 7 (1983), p.39.
24. G. Gründgens, letter of 13.3.1947 to Major Mosjakow in Gründgens, Briefe, Aufsätze, Reden, edited by R. Badenhhausen and P. Gründgens-Gorski (München, 1970), pp.181-2.
25. The most contradictory sources exist for the premiere of Mord im Dom. While every source cites Köln, Allgayer, for example, cites Köln and München on 20 October 1947 while according to Spectaculum Deutsches Theater 1945-1975 edited by Manfred Ortmann (Frankfurt, 1984), it was first produced in Köln and Göttingen on 18 October 1947. Each of the theatres claims to have hosted the German premiere.
26. Rilla, "Gerhart-Hauptmann-Uraufführung" in Pfelling, pp.224-7 (Newspaper article of 12.9.1947).
27. Rilla, "Anouilh: Ball der Diebe" in Pfelling, pp.297-8 (Newspaper article of 21.5.1948).
28. Ehre, pp.146-8.
29. The next production was directed by Gustav Rudolf Sellner in Darmstadt in 1960.

Repertoire

1. Theater der Stadt Baden-Baden; Komödie am Kurfürstendamm, Berlin; Künstler-theater Bremen; Stadttheater Kiel; Staatsschauspiel München; Württembergisches Staatstheater Stuttgart; Städtische Bühnen Wuppertal.
2. R. Schacht, "Wer liest denn eigentlich unsere Stücke" in P. Mochmann, ed., Dramaturgische Blätter 4 (1948), p.186.
3. Examples include: Landestheater Darmstadt; Bühnen der Hansestadt Lübeck; Theater der Jugend, München.
4. C. Weichardt in H. Glaser, Kulturgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1945-1948 (München, 1985), p.336.
5. M. Lederer, "Improvisationen am Bodensee" in W. A. Peters, ed., Die Quelle, 3 (1947), p.105.
6. E. Brasch, "Bert Brechts moralische Anstalt" in Südkurier, 4.6.1946.
7. Lederer, p.105.
8. Lederer, p.105.
9. The debate about the absence of new German drama will be discussed at length in the next chapter.
10. Unsigned, untitled, Trierer Volkszeitung, 17.7.1946.
11. "Märchen" in the German theatre does not just mean fairy-tale but also refers to pantomimes and seasonal productions requiring the suspension of belief.
12. Trierer Volkszeitung, 17.6.1946.
13. In the 1948/49 season a further 4:12 productions from the Konstanz repertoire featured.

14. Jedermann was chosen much more frequently for the opening production as, for example, at the Nationaltheater Mannheim and the Württembergisches Staatstheater, Stuttgart.
15. Anouilh, who recognized his debt to Giraudoux adopted the latter's idea for his play.
16. H. Gnekow, "Theaterarbeit aus dem Nichts" in Stadt Bochum, ed., Saladin Schmitt (Bochum, 1964), p.126.
17. S. Schmitt, "Der Theaterleiter und sein Programm" in Stadt Bochum, p.185.
18. Gnekow in Stadt Bochum, p.126.
19. K. Dörnemann, "Ausklang" in Stadt Bochum, p.80.
20. Even Hamlet had been planned by van Diemen in Konstanz but then cancelled.
21. Saladin Schmitt's productions:

1945/46: Sappho; Iphigenie; Hamlet
1946/47: Gyges und sein Ring; Die Journalisten; Richard II;
Wie es Euch gefällt; Florian Geyer; Das Glas Wasser
1947/48: Romeo und Julia; Judith; Richard III; Die Macht der Finsternis; Der Teufelsschüler.
22. Hebbel, cited in O.C.A. zur Nedden & K. H. Ruppel, eds., Reclams Schauspielführer (Stuttgart, 1978), p.382.
23. I have described a play as unknown or obscure if no reference to either the play or the author can be found in any of the following works of reference:

- Georg Hensel, Spielplan
- Otto C.A. zur Nedden & Karl H. Ruppel, eds., Reclams Schauspielführer

- Gero v. Wilpert, Deutsches Dichter-Lexikon
- Henning Rischbieter, ed., Friedrichs Theaterlexikon von A bis Z
- Margret Dietrich, Das moderne Drama
- 24. Stadtverwaltung, Bonn, ed., Bonn 1945-1950 - Fünf Jahre Stadtverwaltung (Bonn, 1951), p.212.
- 25. W. Schulze-Reimpell, "Man spielte, was gefiel - Die Theater im Rheinland" in K. Honnef & H. M. Schmidt, Neubeginn und Kontinuität (Köln/Bonn, 1985), p.451.
- 26. Stadtverwaltung Bonn, p.222.
- 27. Unsigned, "Dreimal Erstaufführung in Bonn" in Kölnische Rundschau, 17.9.1946.
- 28. Kölnische Rundschau, 17.9.1946.
- 29. Hadamczik, Schmidt, Schulze-Reimpell, pp.33-4.
- 30. Hadamczik, Schmidt, Schulze-Reimpell, p.32.
- 31. Hadamczik, Schmidt, Schulze-Reimpell, p.33.
- 32. The debate on modern German drama revolving around the question of whether it actually existed and whether it was of sufficient quality to be performed etc. will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.
- 33. W. H. Patel, "Das Theater soll anstößig sein" in Bonner Universitäts-Zeitung, 25.5.1948.
- 34. Unsigned, "Kunst und Kultur der Woche" in Volksstimme, 18.11.1946.
- 35. K. H. Ruppel in Zur Nedden & Ruppel, p.599.
- 36. W. Langhoff, "Dichtung und Tendenz" in Städtische Bühnen Düsseldorf, ed., Die Bühne, I (1945/46).

37. Langhoff in Städtische Bühnen Düsseldorf.
38. Unsigned, "Theater und Denkmäler am Rhein" in Neues Deutschland, 16.3.1948.
39. W. Horn, Kulturpolitik in Düsseldorf (Opladen, 1981), p.20.
40. Horn, p.20ff.
41. Horn, p.142.
42. Neues Deutschland, 16.3.1948.
43. Goethe in K. Mann, Mephisto (Reinbek, 1981), p.7.
44. Neues Deutschland, 16.3.1948.
45. Neues Deutschland, 16.3.1948.
46. G. Gründgens, "Eine Entscheidung" in Wirklichkeit des Theaters (Frankfurt, 1984), p.126.
47. Gründgens, "Theater und Presse" in Wirklichkeit des Theaters, p.138.
48. Gründgens, "Theater und Presse", p.145.
49. In his list of the first post-war performances Hermann Glaser fails to mention Hagen. This is indicative of the lack of attention so far paid to minor houses. Most commentators restrict their examination to the major theatres of today. Glaser, p.246.
50. Ruppel in zur Nedden & Ruppel, p.651.
51. Letter of 29.1.1986 from A. Büchel, Städtische Bühne Hagen to the author.
52. Städtische Bühne Hagen, ed., "Vorschau Neues Theater", December 1945.
53. Stadtverwaltung Hagen, ed., Die Stadt Hagen im Jahre 1947 (Hagen, 1948), p.89.
54. Stadtverwaltung Hagen, p.62.

55. Stadtverwaltung Hagen, p.89.
56. Stadtverwaltung Hagen, ed., Die Stadt Hagen im Jahre 1948 (Hagen, 1949), p.66.
57. G. O. Leutner, Bericht, unpublished and undated but datable by contents as 1948. In the possession of the "Theatersammlung der Hansestadt Hamburg."
58. R. Drommert, "Hamburgs Schauspielsbühnen nach dem Kriege" in P. T. Hoffmann, ed., Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musik und Theater 1947-1948 (Hamburg, 1947), p.85.
59. B. Werner, "Hamburg" in Dahlmann, Theater-Almanach 1946/47, p.308.
60. Unsigned "Die letzte Chance" in Hamburger Echo, 14.2.1947.
61. Bruno Werner noted:

Liliom ist unserer Zeit ferngerückt, und wenn Zuschauer heute auch keineswegs für alle falschen Töne ein kritisches Organ haben, für bestimmte aus einer versunkenen bürgerlich-saturierten Welt haben sie es durchaus.

Werner in Dahlmann, 1946/47, p.308.
62. Drommert in Hoffmann, 1947-1948, p.69.
63. O. Herrmann, "Hamburg" in Dahlmann, Theater-Almanach 1947, p.335.
64. Herrmann in Dahlmann, 1947, pp.335-6.
65. Drommert in Hoffmann, 1947-1948, p.76.
66. There was another production in the British Zone this season at Göttingen.
67. Amongst the theatres surveyed here Die Weber was only otherwise produced in Coburg but not until 1947/48.
68. Werner, in Dahlmann, 1946/47, p.315.

69. I. Ehre, Gott hat einen größeren Kopf, mein Kind (Hamburg, 1985), p.139.
70. I. Ehre, "Unsere Streben" in "Programmheft Leuchtfeuer" (Hamburg, 10.12.1945).
71. Ehre, Gott hat..., p.145.
72. Cf., for example, Werner in Dahlmann, 1946/47, p.313.
73. Interview with Ida Ehre, Hamburg, 12.5.1982.
74. I. Höger, "Rückblick und Ausblick" in "Programmheft Familienleben" (Hamburg, 1945/46).
75. Drommert in Hoffmann, 1948/49, p.252.
76. Drommert in Hoffmann 1948/49, p.254.
77. Drommert in Hoffmann, 1948/49, p.257.
78. W. Grenzmann in zur Nedden & Ruppel, p.964.
79. The premiere of Mord im Dom will be discussed when the repertoire in München is examined.
80. Schulze-Reimpell in Honnef & Schmidt, p.451.
81. As in the case of Hagen, Coburg is not included in Glaser's list of theatres which opened within months of the war (p.246). Minor houses have not so far been accounted for.
82. W. A. Peters ed., "Amerikanische Zone" in Die Quelle, 3 (1947), p.118.
83. F. Erpenbeck, ed., Theaterdienst, 3 (1946), p.5.
84. W. Stoschek, "An der Schwelle der neuen Spielzeit" in Landestheater Coburg, ed., Landstheater Coburg 1945-1949 (Coburg, 1949), p.4.
85. In Konstanz the number also dropped.
86. E. Kästner, "Darmstädter Theaterfrühling" in Die neue Zeitung, 5.4.1946.
87. E. Kästner, "Theater in des Nachkriegszeit" in Die neue Zeitung, 24.1.1947.

88. F. R. Wittich, "Landestheater: Rückblick und Ausblick" in Darmstädter Echo, 21.8.1947.
89. Both lists in the possession of the Hessische Landes-und Hochschulbibliothek, Darmstadt.
90. Figures include opera as well as drama.
91. Wittich, 24.1.1947.
92. Hadamczik, Schmidt & Schulze-Reimpell, p.32.
93. Hadamczik, Schmidt & Schulze-Reimpell, p.37.
94. Wilpert, p.91.
95. F. Erpenbeck, "Allerlei wunde Punkte" in Dahlmann, 1947, p.69.
96. E. Otto, "Die Lage der Bühnenmitglieder" in DBV, ed., Das deutsche Theater der Gegenwart (Stuttgart, 1948), p.85.
97. Peters, "Bilanz" in Die Quelle, 1 (1947), p.112.
98. F. Luft, in Daiber, Deutsches Theater seit 1945 (Stuttgart, 1976), p.61.
99. Cf., for example, Seelmann-Eggebert, "Rhein-Main-Neckar-Gebiet" in Dahlmann, 1947, p.350.
100. Cf., Paul Rilla's review already quoted in which he referred to Claudia as 'Bonbon-Schmelz!' Rilla in Pfelling, p.215.
101. Cf. for example, Peters, 3 (1947), p.117 or Mannheimer Morgen, ed., Theater in der Schauburg (Mannheim, undated), p.1.
102. The other two were Gießen and Saarbrücken.
103. Peters, 3 (1947), p.117.
104. Peters, 3 (1947), p.117.
105. H. Bitsch, "Vierzig Jahre Theater der Stadt Gießen" in Theater der Stadt Gießen ed., Festschrift 1947 : Zum vierzigjährigen Jubiläum (Gießen, 1947).

106. List in the possession of the Stadttheater Gießen, headed:
"aus Privatbesitz, Vorbesitzer unbekannt, Gesehene Theaterstücke,
5.4.1948".
107. For the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Stadttheater Gießen
in 1981/82 a Festschrift was published including the
repertoires from 1907-1982. The 1945/46 repertoire in
particular differs from Table XXIV. According to this
source the following works were produced on top of those
cited: Goetz: Ingeborg; Impekoven: Die drei Zwillinge;
Zuckmayer: Katharina Knie; Rössler: Philine; Veiller:
Mordprozeß Mary Dugan. There are also discrepancies in the
seasons 1946/47 and 1947/48. There is no evidence in
contemporary material (Festschrift 1947 etc.) to suggest
that these extra works were produced and the Stadttheater Gießen
confirmed that the printed repertoires for the immediate post-war
years are not definitive. (Conversation with Frau Meyer, Gießen,
8.9.1986). Stadttheater Gießen, ed., Festschrift zum 75jährigen
Bestehen - Beiheft (Gießen, 1981/82), pp. 16/17.
108. Langhoff in Städtische Bühnen Düsseldorf.
109. Erpenbeck, Theaterdienst, 6 (1946), p.8.
110. H. Schneider, "Theater und Zeit" in Festschrift 1947.
111. Schneider.
112. Schneider.
113. G. Briese, "Zur Festaufführung Iphigenie auf Tauris" in
Festschrift 1947.
114. P. Verhoeven in Rubner & Huster, Chronik der Neuen Münchner
Theatergeschichte 1 (1946), p.14.

115. W. Petzet in Chronik, 1 (1946), p.9.
116. A. Dahlmann, "München" in Theater-Almanach 1946/47, p.284.
117. Dahlmann, pp.288-90.
118. Dahlmann, p.299.
119. R. Bach, "Kurzer Hinweis" in Programmheft Anno Domini nach der Pest (München, 1947/48).
120. Hand-written production lists in the possession of the archive of the Bayerische Staatstheater München.
121. Dahlmann, 1947, p.283.
122. U. Seelmann-Eggebert, "Theaterstadt Stuttgart" in Generalintendanz der Württembergischen Staatstheater, ed., Festschrift der Württembergischen Staatstheater Stuttgart (Stuttgart, 1962), p.62.
123. Glaser, p.246.
124. It is remarkable that, although the re-opening of the theatre is clearly documented in the Festschrift of 1962, Glaser is not the only commentator to overlook the Jedermann opening performance. In a retrospective article entitled "Ein Weg aus der Tristesse in die Welt der Poesie" in the Stuttgarter Zeitung of 24.12.1985, the private Kammerspiele under Fred Schroer, which opened on 6 October 1945 with "Wozzek", are described as having been opened 'als erstes Stuttgarter Theater'. May, "Ein Weg aus der Tristesse in die Welt der Poesie" in Stuttgarter Zeitung, 24.12.1985.
125. H. Bayer, "Wird Stuttgart eine Theaterstadt?" in Peters, Die Quelle, 3 (1947), p.94.

126. Seelmann-Eggebert, p.63.
127. Cf. for example, U. Seelmann-Eggebert, "Rhein-Main-Neckar-Gebiet" in Dahlmann, 1947, p.346.
128. Seelmann-Eggebert in Dahlmann, 1947, p.346.
129. Seelmann-Eggebert in Dahlmann, 1947, p.344.
130. Bayer, p.94.
131. K. H. Ruppel, "Geisteswandel im modernen Spielplan" in Dahlmann, 1946/47, p.65.
132. Glaser, p.246.
133. H. Wenniger in Festschrift zur Eröffnung des Neuen Residenztheaters am 28. Januar 1951 cited in Verein der Freunde des Bayerischen Staatsschauspiels, ed., ... dann spielten sie wieder (München, 1981), p.21.
134. Dahlmann in Theater-Almanach 1946/47, p.299.
135. Glaser, p.264.
136. Unsigned, "Gibt es keine deutschen Bühnenauforen?" in Thalia Theater, ed., Programmheft 11 (Hamburg, 1950/51), p.85.

C H A P T E R I I I

PLAYS IN PRODUCTION

- Successes from Abroad
 - Anouilh: Antigone
 - Wilder: Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen
 - Ardrey: Leuchtfeuer
- The German Classics
 - Lessing: Nathan der Weise
- New German Drama
 - Wolf: Professor Mamlock
 - Zuckmayer: Des Teufels General

Successes from Abroad

During the three seasons covered by this study foreign drama in Germany underwent a recognizable change in status amongst theatre people and audiences alike. In 1945/46 the call for foreign works withheld from Germany by Nazi censors ensured repertoires introducing Anouilh and Giraudoux, Ardrey and Wilder to enthusiastically curious audiences. Many theatre people, too, welcomed the opportunity to experiment with works from abroad especially as they saw them as one way of helping Germany to emerge from her enforced cultural isolation. Writing about foreign drama in 1946 Heinz Hilpert noted:

Wir wollen und müssen ihre Stücke spielen
und durch die Sorgfalt und Hingabe,
mit der wir sie interpretieren, uns
wieder Achtung, Freundschaft und Vertrauen
in der Welt erwerben. Auch so wird das
Theater mithelfen, Grenzen zu beseitigen
und Sperrmauern zu durchbrechen, die uns
jetzt von allen anderen Ländern trennen.¹

Besides revealing once again the extraordinary trust placed in the German theatre as a haven of honourable cultural values capable of breaking down barriers between Germany and the rest of the world, Hilpert's remarks express the specific hope of communicating the continued existence of these values to other nations by producing their works in Germany. This idea is related to the complex of German identity since acceptance of these values abroad would mean confirmation of identity at home. But there is a fallacy in Hilpert's thinking because he fails to indicate that the transference of a play from its original target country to another country involves unavoidable changes in meaning through which the ideas represented can become unrecognizable and even reversed in meaning. Evidence of the uneasy shift from one language to another and from one country to another with

resulting alterations in meaning will be seen presently in relation to productions of works by non-German authors.

The idea that German productions of foreign works would lead to greater understanding assumed a common conception of the role of the theatre as an educational institution which did not in fact exist. Even amongst the occupying powers, reaction to renewed activity in the theatre in 1945 ranged from Russian enthusiasm to British and American amazement and initial disapproval. The French theatre officer Felix Lusset rejected German productions of modern French works altogether; he considered them unperformable in Germany because they were too intellectual and could only be acted by those immersed in French tradition and culture.² German productions of foreign works were thus not exclusively successful in rekindling respect and trust abroad, especially as the Allies' support for productions of their own countries' works were soon more concerned with self-presentation and cultural competition than Germany's renewed identity in the world.

The development of competition between the Allies and the appearance of second-rate foreign plays in German repertoires heralded the second phase of reaction to foreign works during this period which was one of satiation and in some cases rejection. At the same time it became clear that removed from their original context, plays forfeited their authenticity and could thus not provide identification patterns relevant to German audiences. As aids to creating a new national identity they lacked validity. With disaffection for foreign works the call for new German works grew louder and, since it remained to all intents and purposes unanswered, the feeling of foreign domination in theatre repertoires intensified.

The majority of foreign plays produced in the Western Zones between 1945 and 1948 came from France and the United States. British plays were included in the repertoires but the numbers were small by comparison. One of the great successes of the immediate post-war period which fell into the first phase of enthusiasm for works from abroad was Anouilh's Antigone.

Anouilh's impact on the German theatre at this time was so great that the critic Walter Panofsky spoke of 'die Anouilhierung des deutschen Theaters'³ in an article written in 1947. Anouilh was a new author for Germany and his existential pessimism, expressed in his dramas in recurring themes such as the search for purity and the inevitable loss of innocence ensuing from any attempt to come to terms with a decadent world, was an unknown literary phenomenon.

Reactions in Germany to the French drama of the Thirties and Forties was divided. On the one hand there were those who believed like Rudolf Stobbe that the 'es ist doch alles umsonst gewesen'-feeling present in such French drama was symptomatic of a phase through which Germany would have to go or was going. Acquaintance with these plays could only serve to heighten German awareness of the problems.⁴ On the other hand, the preoccupation with death in the works of Anouilh, Camus, and Sartre was deplored both by right- and left-wing commentators. The former objected to existentialism as a 'lebensfeindliche Sünde gegen den europäischen Geist' replacing Western humanism by 'den seelischen Nihilismus',⁵ an assessment which failed to appreciate - as Lusset had warned - not only the place of existentialism within French tradition,⁶ but also the creative freedom gained through existential realization

The reservations expressed by the critics of the Left were based precisely on an understanding of Anouilh's works within a French context and tradition which they considered to be missing in Germany. Antigone, for example, was written in 1942 and first performed at the Théâtre de l'Atelier in Paris on 4 February 1944, during the German occupation. Inevitably the great conflict presented in the play between Antigone and Créon, that is between the absolute idea and compromise, between truth and purity on the one side and expediency on the other, excited associations with the political constellation in France at the time. In an interview published in Die Zeit in November 1946 Anouilh denied any intention to draw parallels between his characters and real political figures:

... Anouilh versichert mit Nachdruck, daß er nicht im geringsten an den Machtkampf zwischen Vichy und dem Maquis gedacht habe. Züge Lavals in den Kreon hineinzugeheimsten - wie viele es wollen - sei spitzfindig, und gar in der ganz undiplomatischen schwachen kleinen Antigone den Geist des lebensstarken, mit den Waffen der Diplomatie wie der Technik kämpfenden Maquis zu suchen, sei erst recht abwegig.⁷

But Anouilh's play was born of the times and thus gained relevance by association even though it was not conceived of as political propaganda. Despite Anouilh's claims and notwithstanding the fact that the German censor in the Paris of 1944 did not prevent the play from being performed, French audiences had their own interpretations for lines like:

Antigone: Je suis là pour vous dire non et pour mourir.⁸

Créon: ... on est là, devant l'ouvrage, on ne peut pourtant pas se croiser les bras. Ils disent que c'est une sale besogne, mais si on ne la fait pas, qui la fera?⁹

Créon: Rien n'est vrai que ce qu'on ne
dit pas.¹⁰

The German left-wing critics' reservations concerned precisely these associations, or rather, the lack of them in the Germany of the "Stunde Null". Fritz Erpenbeck, who did not object to Antigone as a play, felt that German audiences were totally unable to appreciate its meaning. With reference to the Berlin production of 1946 he claimed that audiences, actors, and directors alike 'von der (...) Zeit der Besetzung Frankreichs durch deutsches Militär, SS und Gestapo, von der Zeit der Vichy-Regierung und der heldenhaften Widerstandsbewegung, keinerlei gesellschaftlich-politisch richtige Vorstellung haben'.¹¹ While this may well be true, it would mean, if taken to its final conclusion, that no audience which had not experienced the period would be capable of comprehending the play, which would not only be an indictment of the play but plainly in contradiction of Anouilh's claim that the associations with the political constellation in 1942 were not his primary consideration. In the particular situation in Germany at the time there was some justification for Erpenbeck's opinion even if the tone of his article is disturbingly arrogant. He claims that due to their lack of a socio-political conception of the occupation of France the Germans '...auch keine menschliche Miterlebnisfähigkeit ((haben)), nicht einmal genügend Einfühlungsvermögen. Ihr weltanschaulicher (wenn nicht sogar ihr praktischer) Standort zur 'Zeit' des Stückes war größtenteils und ist vielleicht heute noch der diametral entgegengesetzte'.¹² Thus for quite different reasons Erpenbeck reached the same conclusion as Lusset: German audiences could not hope to understand the play in all its complexities.

Furthermore, left-wing commentators were critical of the play's interpretability. The main problem revolved around the character of Créon who in Anouilh's version is a sympathetic figure. In his long confrontation with Antigone he is even given the convincing, rational, political arguments

to counter her irrational, emotional stance, and there is some indication that Antigone herself, while rejecting his actions for herself, is made to recognize the necessity for them, at least in the German version of the play:

Antigone: Erfülle Du Deine Aufgabe und hindere
mich nicht an der meinen.¹³

The German translation by Franz Geiger used for the German premiere of Antigone in Darmstadt in 1946 is indeed a version, since it includes dialogue not to be found in Anouilh's original. This last quotation is such an example.¹⁴ These insertions lead to a shift in emphasis in the play and this helps to explain why some German critics were so condemning of Anouilh's characterization of Créon¹⁵ especially as they would have liked to have seen him clearly portrayed as a tyrant. Friedrich Wolf, for example, thought he had been turned into a 'menschlicher Unmensch'.¹⁶

It is certainly correct that the degree of insight Anouilh allows into Créon's personal motivation as well as his struggle to find a way of saving Antigone disperse the audience's sympathies. Furthermore, it is undeniable that the interpretability of the role made portrayals of Créon possible which presented him in perhaps too positive a light. It is also clear however, that passages such as the first of those inserted in the Antigone-Créon debate in the German text¹⁷ place an even greater emphasis on Créon's goodwill, while Antigone appears to be unbendingly stubborn. Here an element of duty is introduced into Antigone's motivation which is misleading because it appears to remove the essential principle of freedom of choice from Antigone's decision to die. Instead of Créon, it is Antigone who seems to be bound by duty even though she claims it is her own choice. This, too, alters the play in German.

Anouilh himself does make it clear whose side he is on. He reveals his solidarity with Antigone through the irony he employs in his handling of Créon. Indeed, Anouilh's ironic treatment of Créon forms a framework around the whole play typifying not only his introduction by Le Prologue¹⁸ but his exit, too. As the tragedy reaches its close with Créon surrounded by the corpses of his family, he might appear tragic but Anouilh banishes any sympathy for him by making him continue with business as usual: as though nothing had happened he *exits* coolly and calmly in order to arrive on time at the council of ministers.

It is symptomatic of the interpretability of this kind of role that the delicate balance weighing the audience's sympathies in favour of Antigone can be weighed in favour of Créon as well. This occurred in München where Créon was played by Otto Wernicke in Arnulf Schröder's 1946 production for the Bayerisches Staatsschauspiel. Alfred Dahlmann who noted that the direction emphasized the timeless, ever-relevant nature of the play, but who appears to have been deaf to the irony of its conclusion, commented:

Diesen Kreon spielte Otto Wernicke, Exponent des Machtapparates, aber nicht nur am Schalthebel tödlicher Entschlüsse sitzend, sondern bemüht, dem verwirrten Mädchen Antigone noch eine Chance zu bieten. Dieses tief in einem Panzer von Macht spürbare Herz der Figur fand in Wernickes nun ganz ausgereifter Kunst eine so starke Resonanz, daß Kreons Einsamkeit am Schluß wahrhaft tragisch wirkt. Sie ist sein Totenopfer für Antigone.¹⁹

Créon is not supposed to appear tragic, and if irony is the stylistic means by which Anouilh reveals his sympathies, one of Antigone's arguments to Créon confirms his intention in conceptual form. She cannot be satisfied with the 'petit lambeau de bonheur',²⁰ he offers her because this would force her to betray her own concept of truth through compromise and would result in the loss of her innocence. By making the existential choice to die together with Hémon, Antigone can remain true to herself. Their freedom, the freedom of innocent youth, is set in contrast to the lack of freedom in the expedient adult world represented by Créon. Antigone, the ruled, is freer than Créon, the ruler, whose life is determined not by himself but by circumstances; he cannot choose not to execute Antigone but she can choose not to accept his offer of life.

The confrontation between Antigone and Créon forms the heart of the play whose tragedy is pre-determined and inevitable. Thus the quality of a production is influenced considerably by the casting and interpretation of these two roles. At the German premiere directed by Karlheinz Stroux at the Hessisches Landestheater on 30 March 1946 Antigone was played by Maria Pierenkämper, Créon by Arthur Mentz. Both received critical acclaim.²¹ Créon is not required to cover such an extreme scale of emotions as Antigone. Nevertheless, as the man of reason, caught in a web of duty and responsibility, he must be her equal in conviction and intensity especially during the central confrontation. The actor has the difficult task of presenting the sympathetic antagonist whose motives the audience are supposed to understand but whose behaviour they are not supposed to sanction. There is no evidence in the Darmstadt reviews that Créon competed with Antigone for the position of most tragic figure although at least one commentator was misled by the distribution of convincing arguments between the two characters into ignoring Anouilh's bias,²²

An interesting role in the context of early post-war productions of Antigone is that of the guards since they illustrate the German theatre's failure to cope with parts too reminiscent of National Socialist minions of the law. In Darmstadt the guards elicited comments from some critics which are similar to those made about Nazi figures in plays like Des Teufels General and Professor Mamlock. Here the problem is extended to embrace the military. Only the first guard is clearly characterized by Anouilh. He is vulgar, uncouth, rough, and beery but not especially brutal. The only reference to his brutality is when Antigone claims he had hurt her unnecessarily while arresting her.²³ Reviews would suggest, however, that the role was made very brutal, whether by the actor or the director, a presentation of the military which reveals the theatres' (or the reviewers') continuing self-consciousness about such roles. J. S. Dang noted:

Ein Kabinettstück (...) feiger Brutalität, serviler Bürgerlichkeit, sturen Kadavergehorsams, war der Anführer der Wächter Ernst Sladek; die beiden anderen Wächter (...) füllen hinlänglich jenes Bild (...) von der menschlichen Dürftigkeit dieser Auf-tergewaltigen.²⁴

The same phenomenon can be observed with regard to other productions. Thus Alfred Dahlmann reviewing the München premiere just three months after the Darmstadt production, claimed: 'Von böser Aktualität der erste Wächter von Karl Hanft: die gemeine Kreatur, gefährlich, feig, ein Konvolut an subalternen Verdrängungen',²⁵ and in Berlin Paul Wiegler described Gerhard Bienert's first guard as 'der brutale Wächter',²⁶ in the production at the Theater am Kurfürstendamm directed by Bruno Hübner on 25 July 1946. Anouilh's text alone does not provide the basis for such assessments.²⁷

Certain similarities between the Darmstadt and Berlin productions can be determined in their respect for Anouilh's concentration on the spoken word. It was Anouilh's intention that nothing on stage should divert attention from the intellectual argument, hence the presence of Le Prologue introducing characters and sketching the plot in advance, and the preference for simple, timeless settings and costumes. Max Fritsche's Darmstadt setting left the stage empty apart from a single column in one corner of the stage, but the timeless quality was modified to emphasize the play's relevance to a 1946 audience: Antigone wore a modern short dress, Créon an ordinary grey suit, while Le Prologue was dressed in tails just as in the original Paris production.²⁸ In Berlin, too, the stage was bare although it was varyingly perceived by the critics. Walther Karsch speaks of an 'etwas reichlich konstruktiv aufgebaute(n) Bühne'²⁹ but H. U. Fylan refers to 'das kahle kalte Bühnenbild Rolf Christiansens'.³⁰ Hübner also chose to emphasize that Antigone was a modern play: the title figure wore a plain, short dress, Le Prologue an ordinary suit, and Créon, according to Karsch, was dressed like a pastor although he could not imagine why.

Stroux's and Hübner's adherence to an ascetic interpretation of Antigone (by no means a typical style of production for Stroux) not only reflected Anouilh's intentions but was also symptomatic of an attempt to concentrate on the power of language as will be seen in productions of Nathan der Weise. It was a reaction against the mendacity of the Nazi theatre; a clearly definable strain in immediate post-war productions through which the integrity of the spoken word became the focus of dramatic interpretation. The weakness of this kind of production, if taken to the limits of asceticism, were apparent in Hübner's case. Karsch complained that his production lacked passion: 'Es gibt auch eine

Leidenschaft des Intellekts,'³¹ and Werner Fielder noted:

Bruno Hübner gibt dem Spiel zuweilen etwas Statuenhaftes. Die Darsteller stehen manchmal verlassen, gleichsam auf Sockeln, wie auf Isolierschemeln. Dadurch wird der unerbittliche Mechanismus des Geschehens spürbar - aber zuweilen auf Kosten der inneren Dynamik.³²

The characterization of the major roles corresponded to this concept and drew mixed reactions from the critics.³³

Audience reaction is poorly and unevenly documented making it difficult to assess how well audiences managed to cope with Antigone in the immediate post-war years. Most information can be gathered on the Berlin production, but what can be learnt of audience reaction there, is also coloured by the beliefs of the reviewers touching on the point. Hence Fritz Erpenbeck was in no doubt that no-one had understood the play, neither the director, the actors, nor the audience although he did not blame the audience, but a combination of Anouilh, Berlin in 1946, and Bruno Hübner.³⁴ Eylan reported: 'Der zögernde Schlußbeifall bejaht die Darstellung und manches schöne Detail aber nicht das Ganze des dichterischen Experiments'.³⁵ What this comment reveals is how Eylan himself felt about the performance. He offers no evidence for his appraisal of what the audience was supposed to be applauding. At the same time it is not especially surprising if applause was hesitant. In the situation Germany was in at the time, the closing speech of the play must have sent cold shivers running down people's spines:

Sprecher: Alle haben sie wieder - ihre Ruhe.
Die, die sterben mußten, sind tot.
Die einen, die an etwas glaubten -
die anderen, die das Gegenteil
glaubten - selbst jene, die zufällig
in die Geschichte hineingezogen wurden,
ohne etwas davon zu begreifen - sie
alle sind tot. Alle gleich tot,
gleich steif, gleich nutzlos, gleich

verwest. Und die, die noch leben,
beginnen ganz langsam, sie zu vergessen
und ihre Namen zu verwechseln. Alles ist
vorbei. Antigone ist jetzt ruhig. Nie
werden wir erfahren, von welchem Fieber
sie befallen war. Ein tiefer, trauriger
Friede legt sich über Theben und den
leeren Palast, wo Kreon sich anschickt, den
Tod zu erwarten.³⁶

Another commentator to speculate on audience reaction was Werner Fiedler who made the following observations:

Das Publikum ist gebannt von der hohen
Eigenart des Stückes; es genießt je
nach persönlicher Anlage die Präzision
des Denkens, die grimmige Konsequenz
des Fühlens, die Schönheit der lyrischen
Stellen und den Reiz des melancholischen
Lächelns. Es verläßt sehr nachdenklich
das Theater.³⁷

Fiedler's assessment is much closer to that of critics at performances outside Berlin. Once again Berlin is subject to its exceptional status and political constellation, differentiating it from the rest of the Western Zones. In Darmstadt, but also in Stuttgart, München, Koblenz and so on, critics emphasized audiences' 'Aufnahmebereitschaft (...) Interessiertheit',³⁸ and 'Anteilnahme'.³⁹ They reported on 'lebhaft anschließende Diskussionen',⁴⁰ comments which all suggest that the audiences managed to understand Antigone much better than Erpenbeck or Lusset had expected.

Clearly some productions of Antigone were followed by public discussion, but unlike the case of Des Teufels General, no documentation remains. But it can be claimed that audience interest and appreciation were exceptional. In terms of the number of people who saw the play, Antigone was one of the most successful foreign works of the post-war years.

During the first two seasons Anouilh took the German stage by storm. France, being Germany's controversial cultural as well as geographic neighbour, excited particular interest and as the French authorities were keen to promote French culture, Anouilh's passage into the German theatre was very smooth. Audience curiosity was compounded by the novelty of plays like Antigone; classical plays with contemporary relevance struck a new chord. Of course examples of the genre could also be found in German theatre history, particularly amongst the Expressionists, but they had largely been forgotten by 1945⁴¹ and Anouilh seemed fresh and new.

In what follows two other plays from the canon of foreign works first performed in Germany between 1945 and 1948 will be examined, both of which attracted similar interest to Antigone. Both were written by American authors and both were produced during the first phase of enthusiasm for foreign drama. Wilder's Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen and Ardrey's Leuchtfeuer are of particular interest to this study not only due to their exceptional popularity and contents, but also with regard to the changes they underwent in being transferred from America to Germany, and their special relevance to the German audiences of the earliest post-war years.

Thornton Wilder : Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen -
The Skin of Our Teeth

An unsere Besucher

Sie sehen heute eines der wichtigsten
Bühnenwerke der zeitgenössischen Welt-
literatur: das Drama "Wir sind noch
einmal davongekommen" ("Skin of our
teeth", d.h. mit knapper Not, um Haares-
breite) des Amerikaners Thornton Wilder.

Das Stück wird Sie anfangs vermutlich
befremden, und wir wollen im folgenden
versuchen, Ihnen das Verständnis zu
erleichtern, es lohnt sich, meinen wir.¹

These words introduced a two-page discussion of the play Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen given to each member of the audience at the German premiere at the Hessisches Landestheater Darmstadt on 31 March 1946. The director, Karlheinz Stroux, like his colleague Wolfgang Langhoff when presenting Leuchtfener in Düsseldorf two months later, felt it necessary to preempt the audience's confusion by providing them with a few guidelines for interpreting the play.

Darmstadt placed Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen in the context of Wilder's previous works referring to his novel Die Brücke von San Luis Rey which had been translated and published in Germany in 1929, as well as Unsere Kleine Stadt which was frequently performed in the immediate post-war years and includes some of the unfamiliar techniques developed further in Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen. Those schooled in pre-war developments in German theatre, or with memories sufficiently alert to recall Piscator's experiments in Berlin in the late Twenties, could seek help from this source too. Erich Kästner quite rightly ascribes similar types of motivation as well as stylistic realization to Wilder and Piscator. He described the latter as the 'Entfesselungskünstler des technischen Theaters'.²

Even before he had come to the conclusion that the realities of the Second World War severely relativized the effects of traditional drama, Wilder, too, had felt dissatisfied with the state of the theatre and diagnosed a need to break away from what he referred to as "soothing" theatre:

I began to feel that the theatre was not only inadequate, it was evasive; it did not wish to draw upon its deeper potentialities (...) The tragic had no heat; the comic had no bite; the social criticism failed to indict us with responsibility.³

Wilder ascribed this situation to the rise of the middle classes in the nineteenth century⁴ and set himself the task of counteracting it: he conceived and wrote plays which also use those devices "released" by Piscator to strike at the heart and conscience of his audience and gain their heightened awareness of their own situation in life.

Many of Wilder's structural manoeuvres can also be traced back to Pirandello's innovative work:⁵ the apparent improvisation of certain scenes, the introduction of non-dramatic characters like the stage-manager Mr. Fitzpatrick in Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen, as well as the use of the whole auditorium for ~~exits~~ and entrances, and the relative simplicity of the stage set are all reminiscent of Pirandello. Above and beyond this however, Wilder's particular treatment of the audience is closely related to Pirandello's technique of integrating the audience into the play. It is part of Wilder's original concept - just as it was part of Pirandello's in Sechs Personen suchen einen Autor for example - that the audience is a constituent part of the drama, equal in importance to the actors, bound to them and not divided from them in a totality embracing both auditorium and stage. The audience is written into the play, they are chatted to in a theatre from which the show-case of the nineteenth century has been banished totally. Wilder actually uses

the masculine personal pronoun rather than the neutralizing "it" to refer to the audience ('... the audience soon perceives that he is seeing "two times at once"' ⁶), showing that the audience is as alive to him as any actor in the play.

In Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen Wilder's conspiratorial solidarity with the audience goes so far that Sabina, who frequently appeals to the audience directly, even steps out of her role to complain to them that she does not understand what the play is all about:

Sabina: I hate this play and every word in it.

As for me, I don't understand a single word of it,
anyway -⁷

Clearly this is a device of Wilder's calculated to make his audience stop and think, while giving them time to do so. Nonetheless, it also reveals his recognition of the play's complexity for the audience. If Wilder, in writing for an American audience assumed they would be confused - indeed intended that they should be - it is hardly surprising that German directors did their best to place the play in a context for their audiences, who after twelve years of cultural isolation, were unlikely to have experienced a theatrical event like Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen.

Apart from referring to other works by Wilder, Darmstadt was not alone in pointing out parallels to a work they could safely assume everyone knew at least something about: Goethe's Faust. Wilder's play is about three great catastrophes - an ice age, a flood and the aftermath of a major war - and about the human race surviving by the skin of its teeth. If this seemed too enormous a scope for a single play, the audience in Darmstadt is reminded:

Gerade wir (...) besitzen selbst seit rund hundertundfünfzig Jahren ein Menschheits-drama, das 'den ganzen Kreis der Schöpfung' ausschreitet, vom 'Himmel durch die Welt zur Hölle' führt. Und wie der 'Faust' die Wesenszüge eines ganzen Menschen-Typus vereinigt, vielleicht vornehmlich deutsche Züge, so ist bei Wilder die Menschheit verkörpert als eine Familie, und als eine amerikanische Familie von heute: Mr. und Mrs. Antrobus, mit ihren Kindern.⁸

The parallels should not be exaggerated. Wilder was certainly a scholar of European literature and undoubtedly acquainted with Faust,⁹ but beyond the enormous scope of both works and the apparently bizarre happenings in Faust II, there is otherwise little to relate Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen to Faust.

Wilder's knowledge of Europe and European drama was a point seized upon not only by those responsible for the Darmstadt production.¹⁰ He was generally considered to be the most European of the American dramatists;¹¹ Karlheinz Stroux referred to him as 'der einzige Europäer'.¹² With specific reference to Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen Herbert Jhering noted that the European influences such as Pirandello evident in the play placed it 'auf dem Schnittpunkt des europäischen und amerikanischen Theaters',¹³ while in an interview on his Berlin production which followed the Darmstadt premiere, Stroux went so far as to claim: 'Für mich ist dieser Wilder ein deutsches Stück, und ich inszeniere es auch so, als ob es ein deutsches Stück wäre'.¹⁴

The consequences of this way of thinking for productions of the play will become evident later. It is certain that to some extent such claims were misleading. Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen was not written in the aftermath of the Second World War; it did not attempt to reflect the situation in Europe, nor was it a German play. It is certainly to Wilder's credit that it was so relevant to the German situation, but it should be remembered that The Skin of our Teeth

was written 'on the eve of our entrance into the war',¹⁵ and first performed on 15 October 1942 at the Shubert Theater, New Haven, Connecticut.¹⁶ Some German commentators, overwhelmed by parallels to contemporary Germany such as the streams of refugees featured in the play, completely ignored the fact that it had been written for an American audience at the beginning of the Forties. One reviewer writing on the Hamburg production in 1947, for example, phrased his review in such a way that the reader would have to assume the play had been written after the war and specifically with the European situation in mind. Not only does he call Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen 'das neue Schauspiel von Thornton Wilder',¹⁷ which in 1947 was at best imprecise, he also explains his surprise about the play as follows:

Die (...) Überraschung (...) rührt daher, daß dem amerikanischen Dichter die gegenwärtige euräische (sic) Situation auf den Nägeln brennt und daß er, der jenseits des Chaos beheimatet ist, das Stück geschrieben hat, das diesseits hätte geschrieben werden müssen, zumal in Deutschland, wo das Beben gegenwärtig seinen Kern hat. Dies ist in der Tat tief geheimnisvoll und läßt auf ein untergründiges Kommunizieren des Geistes schließen und darauf, daß der Zustand der Welt etwas Unteilbares ist.¹⁸

Apart from the rather sententious mysticism propagated at the end of this quotation and the rebuke to German dramatists, it is clear that the author sees the play in European, indeed in German terms. Although Wilder himself later ascribed a particular relevance to performances of his play in Germany immediately after the war,¹⁹ the sort of anchorage in place and time assumed here runs strictly counter to his aim of achieving universality in the theatre. Even though he later noted that in his opinion the play mostly came alive 'under conditions of crisis',²⁰ he did not want to be bound down in place and time since this could only lead to the soothing, harmless kind of theatre against which he had revolted.

Crass misunderstandings of the type mentioned above were not the only response to the play. The critics provide the major source of information on audience reaction and this source is unusually rich. This is certainly due to the fact that their own awareness of the play's potential inaccessibility for contemporary audiences sensitized them to audience response and caused them to comment on it in their reviews. Overwhelmingly the initial reaction was one of bafflement. "Befremden" is the word chosen in a number of cases for the response to productions as geographically far apart as Freiburg, Köln, and Berlin.²¹ In the majority of cases it is noted that as the play progressed, the audience, rather than becoming increasingly confused, grew accustomed to the unaccustomed happenings. One commentator noted: 'Das Publikum mußte sich (...) erst an das Gebotene gewöhnen. Und es gewöhnte sich auch. So sehr, daß es zuletzt zu großen anhaltenden Kundgebungen kam.'²² Thus Will Seringhaus on the Darmstadt production, an assessment shared by his colleague Hildegard Weber.²³ In Berlin, too, where Stroux directed the play at the Hebbel-Theater opening on 5 July 1946, Werner Fiedler observed: 'Zwar ~~sträubt~~ sich das Publikum gelegentlich gegen allzu befremdliche Eindrücke, doch dann wird es wieder mitgerissen vom Wirbel der seltenen Vorgänge'.²⁴ A year later reactions to the Köln production directed by Hans Schalla differ little: 'zuerst Befremden, zuletzt Beifall, erfreulich und erstaunlich viel'.²⁵

A notable exception to this essentially positive spread of audience reaction is registered by reviewers of the Wiesbaden production on the occasion of a guest appearance in Frankfurt in 1947. In clear contradiction of their own assessments of the play which were enthusiastic, the critics reported: 'Es fehlte nicht an Protesten im Zuschauerraum'.²⁶

This is especially surprising since it was once again directed by Karlheinz Stroux, who had not experienced rejection of this kind in Darmstadt or Berlin, although there had been some protests in Wiesbaden itself. Indeed in Berlin there had even been spontaneous applause²⁷ during the play expressing the audience's approbation for scenes such as that between Mr Antrobus and his son Henry/Cain, when the former claims:

Mr Antrobus: You're the last person I wanted to see.
 The sight of you dries up all my plans
 and hopes. I wish I were back at war
 still, because it's easier to fight
 you than to live with you. War's a pleasure
 - do you hear me? - War's a pleasure
 compared to what faces us now: trying
 to build up a peacetime with you in the
 middle of it.²⁸

Unfortunately none of the Frankfurt commentators really makes it clear whether they were isolated protests or an expression of general feeling. Renée Goldmann's reference - 'Das Stück hatte eine starke Wirkung, auch auf uns, obwohl es an Protesten im Zuschauerraum nicht fehlte'²⁹ - implies that while they were not overwhelming they were certainly not isolated either. But these critics barely attempt to analyze the audience's reactions beyond some uncertain conjectures by Goldmann on the differing nature of the concept of history on the other side of the Atlantic. Frankfurt also obliged their audiences with some introductory remarks on the play in the programme but these obviously did not suffice to overcome their confusion and rejection either in Wiesbaden or in Frankfurt.

The reasons for these reactions derive from the theatrical provincialism of the two places. While at the time Wir sind noch

einmal davongekommen was being produced in Darmstadt, this town was in the process of becoming a leading theatre centre (a reputation which was sadly short-lived) and cities like Berlin, Hamburg, and München tended to attract more cosmopolitan audiences anyway, neither Wiesbaden nor Frankfurt had succeeded in combating provincial attitudes by 1947. It is not possible to differentiate the negative response on the Main. Only Berlin critics made any attempt to divide up audiences according to age, with somewhat contradictory results.

Georg Zivier writing in the Telegraf reported that a number of young people had approached him at the premiere leaving him with the impression 'Unsere jungen Menschen scheinen dem Bühnenexperiment in weit höheren Maße aufgeschlossen zu sein als die grämliche durch 'Lenkung' verdorbene ältere Generation - was uns zu Hoffnungen berechtigt'.³⁰ This statement is somewhat relativized by Willi Lewin writing in Start. He noted that his young colleague had had to attend two performances of Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen before feeling he had understood enough of it to file his article. From this Lewin infers that the play presents particular problems for young people who have grown up in intellectual quarantine.³¹ Certainly this group did not even have the advantage of being able to look to precursors in the Twenties for enlightenment.

From a vantage point forty years on, after countless ventures in experimental drama which make Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen seem perfectly straightforward, it is necessary to call to mind the elements which so confused German audiences in 1946. The most important of these was Wilder's disregard for the unities of time and place. While Wilder could assume that a Transatlantic audience would

recognize and accept the enmeshing of pre-historic times with a New Jersey suburb in 1942, it was not so easy for German audiences. At the latest their confusion is assured by the projection showing a modest but undoubtedly modern suburban house which the commentary claims is the home of Mr George Antrobus, the inventor of the lever and the wheel, of Mrs Maggie Antrobus, the inventor of the apron, their children Henry and Gladys, and a friend, the maid Lily Sabina. They are referred to as a typical American family who are now to be visited to be congratulated on their enterprise.

The associations appear fairly straightforward and are firmly established during the course of the first act: Mr Antrobus is a typical American husband and father, he is Adam, and he is man in general (anthropos, Gr. - human being); Mrs Antrobus is a typical American wife and mother, she is Eve, and she is woman in general; Henry gradually emerges not only as a typical American kid but as Cain who killed his brother Abel, and he personifies the presence of evil in the world; Lily-Sabina is not only the maid but Adam's other wife, the seductive Lilith (cf. footnote 9) and a symbol for a spirit of creative anarchy. It is not Mrs Antrobus who inspires her husband to make further discoveries like the alphabet and the multiplication table, but Lily Sabina in her various guises as maid, beauty queen, and fille du régiment. Finally, there is the one character without an equivalent in the original Garden of Eden family, the daughter Gladys, but she belongs both in a typical American family and in a family representing mankind.

Even assuming 1946 audiences in general had been able to make these associations which after more than a decade of not being allowed to make associations is improbable,³² their task was made more

difficult by Wilder's technique of interrupting the action. This technique is also introduced soon after the opening of the play: Mrs Antrobus supposedly misses a cue and Sabina has to extemporize, which provides not only the first interruption but also the first opportunity for Sabina to step out of her role and address the audience directly. (It also provides Wilder with an opportunity to poke fun at former modes of playwriting by allowing Sabina to denigrate Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen in favour of 'plays like we used to have - Peg o' My Heart, and Smiling Thru, and The Bat'.³³) Only Sabina initiates interruptions in this way emphasizing the anarchic nature of her role and differentiating her from the family themselves. She sets herself apart from the action creating an alienation effect and preventing the audience from identifying too closely with the fates of the protagonists.

To identify was an enormous temptation in Germany in 1946, not only because the theatre played such an important role as guide and mentor but also because the material presented here encouraged identification. The scene featuring the refugees in Act I offers convincing evidence of this. What 1946 audiences saw on stage might be seen any day outside the theatre in reality. In the introduction to the Frankfurt production it was noted in the programme:

Wer von uns kann, ohne erschüttert zu sein,
die Szene erleben, als die Flüchtlinge in das
Haus des Herrn Antropus (sic) strömen und
ihn um Obdach bitten. Selbst die Schauspieler
müssen ihr Spiel unterbrechen, weil diese
Wahrheit so bitter ist, daß sie fast nicht
mehr gestaltet werden kann.³⁴

Similarly the whole of the third act bore such a close resemblance to the situation in Germany immediately following the war that identification was inevitable. Wilder himself seeks to counteract identification by an elaborate alienation effect, yet even this could not weaken the overall effect of the closeness of the world portrayed to everyday reality: the devastation, the people returning from war, the attempts to clear up and start again. For these audiences, as Wilder himself noted later, '... it was of absorbing interest that there was a "recipe for grass soup that did not cause the diarrhoea"'-³⁵ the first of Mr Antrobus's inventions on his return from war.

It emerges clearly that Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen was of special relevance to German audiences in 1946 on more than one level. Firstly, there was the relevance of individual scenes such as that with the refugees. Secondly, there was the relevance of a whole act featuring what appeared to be current reality. Thirdly, there was the particular relevance of the play's family faced with the chaos of world-shattering catastrophes which, it appears, they are neither responsible for, nor understand, nor can do anything about. In 1946 many people thought the play had been written just for them. The destruction of Hitler-Germany and the invalidation of Nazi-ideology left many people feeling exposed to a world they could not comprehend, a world which made no sense. They were demoralized and disoriented, yet though reality, just like the fates of the Antrobuses, might seem incomprehensible and the individual but a pawn in someone else's game, a structure emerges in the events of Wir sind noch einmal davongekomme through which the protagonists appear less passive: in Act I the wall of ice is already on the move, the catastrophe is underway and Henry/Cain, who has long since killed his brother Abel, throws another stone at th

boy next door. The family is tempted to capitulate in the face of these events but eventually decides to try to come to terms with them and attempts to 'Save the human race'³⁶ despite the apparent hopelessness of the cause. They survive. Act II is set before the catastrophe and the question of responsibility is posed more directly than in Act I. Indeed, the fortune teller makes the causal association between the events in Atlantic City and the flood which strikes at the end of the act perfectly transparent:

Fortune teller: And now what's the immediate future of our friends the Antrobuses? Oh, you've seen it as well as I have, heck - that dizziness of the head; that Great Man dizziness? The inventor of beer and gunpowder. The sudden fits of temper and then the long stretches of inertia (...) You know as well as I what's coming. Rain. Rain. Rain in floods. The deluge. But first you'll see shameful things - shameful things.³⁷

The "shameful things" include Sabina's seduction of Mr Antrobus, Henry taking more pot-shots at negro chair-pushers, and a general all-embracing slide into decadence following Mr Antrobus's call for total hedonism. The great flood comes. This time, too, they survive by the skin of their teeth and appear in the third act confronted with the catastrophe which has already taken place: war. But while man is shown as being responsible for his own situation it is the fate of mankind which is under discussion, not man's guilt in relation to specific social or political developments. Despite what he is, he manages to survive. This ability to survive, to pull-through and Wilder's call to do so, struck a particular chord in Germany in 1946. Sentiments such as Mrs Antrobus's rousing:

Mrs Antrobus: I could live for seventy years in a cellar
and make soup out of grass and bark, without
ever doubting that this world has a work
to do and will do it(...)

Too many people have suffered and died for
my children for us to start reneging now³⁸

might elicit ridicule from some or approbation from others but would leave no-one indifferent. Nor could they remain indifferent to Wilder's warning voice, for it is not only "the good" who survive but "the evil", too. Henry/Cain is also a member of the family of man and like some of the worst perpetrators of National Socialism he, too, reappears after the war. To come to terms with him and everything he stands for is the major challenge, and failure will inevitably lead - like the de capo structure of Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen - to the next catastrophe.

From this it emerges that the play Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen and the play The Skin of Our Teeth were different not only in terms of language but above all in terms of context and frame of reference. Regrettably, prompt books are not available so that a systematic comparison of the text with the play in Germany is impossible. On the basis of contemporary articles, interviews, etc. certain general trends can none the less be defined revealing some illuminating divergencies. Furthermore, Karlheinz Stroux's Berlin production is documented by a series of photographs taken during a performance by the DEFA cameraman Gerhard Kowalewski. They allow conclusions to be drawn not only on the realization of individual scenes but also on the emphasis and intention of the production.³⁹ It should also be borne in mind that Stroux was the dominant director of Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen with three productions in Darmstadt, Berlin, and Wiesbaden within a period of six months.⁴⁰ and that he conceived of it as a German play.

Furthermore, according to Erich Kästner who saw both the Darmstadt and Berlin productions, Stroux 'hatte sich sehr genau an seine Darmstädter Inszenierung gehalten'⁴¹ in Berlin, so that inferences drawn from the latter production may be applied to the German premiere too.⁴²

The major difference between Wilder's original text and the American premiere on the one hand, and the German text and the Darmstadt premiere on the other, was that while the former emphasized the general, unspecific, timeless nature of the material, the latter - and this was characteristic for many productions in Germany - sought to link it irrefutably to the present and the immediate past. An excellent example of this is the much-quoted refugee-scene in Act I. Wilder describes the refugees as follows:

The REFUGEES are typical elderly out-of-works
from the streets of New York today. JUDGE
MOSES wears a skull-cap. HOMER is a blind
beggar with a guitar. The seedy crowd shuffles
in and waits humbly and expectantly.⁴³

In the New York production directed by Elia Kazan which opened at the Plymouth Theater on 18 November 1942 the refugees were so undefined that the critic of The New York Times did not even realize they were refugees but referred to them as 'the neighbors'.⁴⁴ By contrast, the Hamburg production directed by Helmut Käutner in 1947 featured 'Moses in der Sträflingskleidung des KZ',⁴⁵ while in Hans Schalla's Köln production Homer appeared 'mit der gelben Binde des Kriegsblinden'.⁴⁶ From the photographs of the Berlin production it can be seen that although Wilder merely indicates through Mr Antrobus that the sandwiches should be passed around amongst the refugees,⁴⁷ Stroux created a picture very familiar to his audience: a queue of refugees filing past Sabina and Mrs. Antrobus who distribute the sandwiches and the coffee.

Differences of this kind can also be identified in the handling of the third act. Articles on the New York production emphasize that the third act is set after 'the war - any war',⁴⁸ despite the fact that the United States had been at war themselves for a year and specific parallels might well have been drawn. In Germany, however, there was no question as to which was intended. Hanns Braun was not the only commentator to describe the third act as evoking 'den Schluß dieses unseres Weitkrieges und seine Hinterlassenschaft'.⁴⁹ Sabina, who is the first character to appear in the third act, is supposed to be dressed as a Napoleonic camp follower in Wilder's text. In German productions she appeared in various guises but never this one: in Berlin Walther Karsch noted that she was wearing the uniform of a "Wehrmachtshelferin",⁵⁰ while in Köln she became a "Luftwaffenshelferin".⁵¹ Henry/Cain also became an unmistakable exponent of the present. Rather than wearing the torn overalls with 'one gaudy admiral's epaulette hanging by a thread from his right shoulder',⁵² indicated by Wilder, Henry was usually made into a high-ranking officer intensely and intentionally reminiscent of the Nazis. In Berlin Friedrich Luft reported that he was a general: 'Er tritt auf, pompös, mit Orden behängt, den Marschallstab in der Hand',⁵³ - a description which is evocative of Göring. In the production photographs he appears to be dressed in the black of the SS with the accoutrements of the "SS-Reichsstandarte". In Hamburg, too, Henry was noted as wearing 'die schwarze Uniform des Zerstörers'.⁵⁴

Relating the aftermath of Wilder's war to the aftermath of the Second World War did not only involve visual elements; various changes were made to the text as well. At the Schauspielhaus Zürich annotated manuscript copies do exist of the original translation by Gentiane Gebser used not only for the Zürich production but also for the first German productions after the war. The play was originally translated as Mit knapper Not but was re-titled Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen

for the Zürich production of 1944. From this copy it is possible to determine that the textual changes were not introduced by the translator. Gentiane Gebser's version is a straightforward translation of Wilder's text. But various textual alterations were made for German productions. Although Sabina mentions having spent seven years living around camp for example, Friedrich Luft, reviewing the Berlin production, writes: 'Lilith erscheint in Uniform, verwildert, verkommen, sechs Jahre Krieg auf ihren immer noch schönen Schultern'.⁵⁵ Other commentators refer in passing to changes without giving examples. In particular, Käutner's Hamburg production at the Kammerspiele was reported as being peppered with contemporary allusions. According to René Drommert: 'Er (Käutner) aktualisiert den Text bis an die Grenze des Erträglichen'.^{56,57} Textual changes do not only imply insertions but deletions, too. In the absence of prompt books and original texts it is impossible to be precise. It would, however, be fascinating to discover whether passages like Sabina's outburst to the audience in Act I were actually included in German productions despite their obvious contemporary fallacy:

Sabina: Ladies and gentlemen! Don't take this play serious.
The world's not coming to an end. You know it's
not. People exaggerate! Most people really have
enough to eat and a roof over their heads. Nobody
actually starves - you can always eat grass or
something.⁵⁸

The only indication as to whether this scene was included in German productions is provided by the Berlin photographs. One does indeed show Sabina at the front of the stage addressing the audience in circumstances identifying the scene unmistakably. It cannot, however, be determined conclusively whether she recited the speech in its entirety.

It is also clear from the Zürich manuscript copy that this speech was not deleted. In this translation the speech reads:

Sabina: Meine Damen und Herren! Nehmen Sie dieses Stück nicht ernst. Die Welt geht nicht unter. Das wissen Sie ganz genau. Die Leute übertreiben. In Wirklichkeit haben die meisten genug zu Essen und ein Dach überm Kopf. Niemand hungert wirklich - mann kann immer Gras essen oder sonst was.⁵⁹

There was one feature the American and German productions certainly did have in common: opinions diverged radically but people were rarely indifferent to the play. As will become clear, the reasons for rejection or enthusiasm were more complex this side of the Atlantic. Nevertheless, in an interview, Frederic March who played Mr Antrobus in New York bore witness to the diversity of American opinion in an anecdote he related:

Our play (...) either makes people so mad they want to throw bricks, or they love it. There isn't any middle point of view. I think that's a good sign (...) Our taxi driver the other night (...) said to me: 'I hear you have a hit, but I never picked up so many people from a hit in intermissions before'.⁶⁰

As in the cases of so many foreign plays first performed in German during the Third Reich, Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen was premiered at the Schauspielhaus Zürich on 16 March 1944. It was directed by the "Intendant" Oskar Wälterlin and featured Wolfgang Heinz and Therese Giehse as the Antrobuses, Maria Becker as Sabina, Emil Stöhr as Henry and Annemarie Blanc as Gladys. It was also one of the plays specially copied by Zürich actors for their colleagues in Germany within the framework of Wolfgang Langhoff's "Hilfsaktion für Deutschland". This was not however, the only way in which the text reached German theatres. Like Leuchtfeuer,

Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen was one of the plays included in the catalogue of Amerikanische Theaterstücke made available for performance in Germany by the American authorities. It was thought to be of particular value in the process of re-education. In his summary of the plot Benno D. Frank noted:

Rücksichtslos wird die Gedankenarbeit und die Phantasie der Leute im Parkett herausgefordert, anstatt ihnen eine säuberliche Illusion vorzusetzen (...) Im Erschrecken und in der Betroffenheit, in der Empörung und in der Zustimmung der Hörenden und Schauenden (...) vollzieht sich eine neue Katharsis.⁶¹

To what extent Frank's expectations were fulfilled has already been revealed in documenting audience reaction to the play and it has been seen that responses were mixed, ranging from enthusiasm to rejection, from agreement and identification to utter bafflement.

Critical opinion amongst the reviewers was equally varied but largely divided along political lines. Almost all the critics of the Left disliked the play more or less intensely. This was due to a number of factors. Firstly, they considered it too far removed from social and political reality. According to Fritz Erpenbeck, one of the leading advocates of socialist realism, the social change taking place in Germany, especially in the Russian Zone, was producing a new man '... ein Mensch, der mehr und mehr nach dem gesellschaftlich-historischen, neue Perspektiven eröffnenden Inhalt seines Lebens sucht, ihn aufspürt und erkennt'.⁶² This was what should be shown on stage: 'Den gesellschaftlich neuen Inhalt. Ihn muß man darbieten'.⁶³

The play was anathema to Erpenbeck and his colleagues because it could be interpreted as running counter to their understanding of and search for truth in the post-war theatre. They wanted to pursue new truths, and Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen seemed by its very structure to be restorative. Not for the first time it is the question of interpretability which is under discussion here. Wolfgang Langhoff had argued for "objektive Tendenz"⁶⁴ by which he meant that a clear line should be taken without indulging in banal and invalidating over-simplification. The clear line taken in Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen might be interpreted as claiming that man is incapable of learning from his mistakes and always ends up back where he had started from. That there is an element of warning inherent in Wilder's play - that this will be man's fate if he does not change - is something the critics of the Left chose to ignore. But they could ignore it because of the play's interpretability. This fact was at the heart of their strongest objection to the play: what they saw as Wilder's equation of war with natural catastrophes like an ice-age and a flood. In an article entitled "Formalismus und Dekadenz" Erpenbeck, who recognized that it was not Wilder's intention to imply that war was a natural catastrophe not caused by man, noted:

... nein, das will Wilder nicht sagen, aber (...) er sagt es! Die Form seines Stückes sagt es, schreit es geradezu: die gleichen Personen im ersten Akt in der Eiszeit, im zweiten während der Sintflut, im dritten im Weltkrieg; jedesmal das gleiche Verhalten: Kostümierung und Zeitbestimmung anachronistisch vertauscht und vielschichtig ineinandergeschoben. Es ist für den Zuschauer keine andere Schlussfolgerung als die genannte zu ziehen.⁶⁵

This interpretation became a matter of such general acceptance on the Left⁶⁶ that in 1947 the play was banned altogether in the Russian Zone on the grounds of Wilder's 'Theorien über die Unvermeidbarkeit des Krieges',⁶⁷ In this respect Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen was a victim of the growing ideological rift between the Allies which would eventually lead to the almost total absence of Russian plays in the Western Zones and American plays in the Russian Zone.

The critics of the Left objected to the structure and style of the play too. It complied with none of the requirements of socialist realism and Wilder's search for new means of expression was stamped as formalism. Formalism was rejected for being too artificial, too unreal, unsuitable for purveying new social contents, and not serious enough. One commentator remarked:

Wenn (...) selbst der (weitaus fortschrittlichere)
Bernard Shaw die erzieherische Absicht seiner
Stücke durch eine Überdosierung an Humor und
Satire verminderte, so wird Wilder mit diesen
Mitteln nicht über die Wirkung von Revue-
Attraktionen hinauskommen.⁶⁸

In this context it is worth noting that in this article which appeared in the Communist Hamburger Volkszeitung in 1947, the age-old German suspicion of comedy and its banishment to the realms of light entertainment is revealed. In the spirit of Schiller's legacy, the choice of the lighter muse in itself was thus thought to invalidate the message.⁶⁹

By contrast, the New York reviewers speak unashamedly of Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen as 'one of the wisest and friskiest comedies written in a long time (...) an original, gay-hearted play that is now and again profoundly moving, as a genuine comedy should be'.⁷⁰

Another argument posited by critics like Erpenbeck and Jhering but put forward by commentators right across the political spectrum

concerned Wilder's place in an unbroken American cultural heritage. Jhering, rejecting the play for contemporary Germany, thought that this was where he should remain:

Eine ungefährdete, siegreiche und in ihrer epischen Kunst schöpferische Nation wie die Amerikaner kann sich noch Ironien und berückende Phantasiespielereien über Begriffe und Vorstellungen leisten, die für uns längst die Schrecken der Wirklichkeit erreicht haben.⁷¹

No doubt Jhering is being too narrow. But he does draw attention to the fact that Wilder's play is born of continuity and a confident sense of identity, two elements quite foreign to Germany at the time. The gulf that therefore existed between the play and German audiences, despite the keenly-felt parallels, would mean that the impact of the play would decrease once these parallels could no longer be drawn. However relevant it was felt to be at the time, in the long run Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen could not be of exemplary use in re-establishing German continuity and German identity. Even within the theatre, writers like Erich Kästner thought it necessary to warn potential German dramatists against any attempts to emulate Wilder,⁷² or as one critic noted concisely: 'Made in USA. Vor Nachahmung wird gewarnt'.⁷³

The liberal and right-wing press was overwhelmingly in favour of performing Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen in Germany.⁷⁴ In contrast to Dr. Falk Harnack's dismissal of the play as being pessimistic and prophesying the inevitable victory of the "Spießbürger",⁷⁵ they considered it to be a warning about the potentially devastating consequences if man failed to change himself and his situation; essentially prophesying a narrow victory for the human race. One writer commented:

Das Stück (klingt) keineswegs in Pessimismus oder Resignation aus, sondern vielmehr in einem Aufruf an uns alle. Denn wir sind ja lebengeblieben, und wir haben alle Möglichkeiten der Lebenden, wenn wir erkennen und bereit sind, aus der Erkenntnis zu lernen.⁷⁶

Most enthusiastic of all the commentators was Friedrich Luft. In his radio broadcast the day after the Berlin premiere he described the play in considerable detail, continuing:

Ich habe Ihnen dieses Stück so ausführlich erzählt, damit Sie sich einen Begriff machen können, von dem Ernst, der darin anklingt. Keinen Begriff geben könnte ich Ihnen von der Leichtigkeit mit der diese Fragen angegangen werden. Die Bühne ist aufgelöst (...) Verwirrend vielleicht für viele. Aber heilsam auch. Um die Ecke denken zu müssen ist wohltätig für den Verstand. Mit Thornton Wilder muß er hier über viele Hürden gehen, bis die letzte, ernste, klingende Frage des Stückes steht: wir sind noch einmal davon gekommen. Was lernen wir daraus? Was ändern wir an unserem Leben? An unserem sozialen Leben und jeder an seinem eigenen.

Wir haben gestern nach dem Theater lange darüber gestritten.

Schon daß man es kann, finde ich großartig. Wilder ist ein Dichter. Er hat eine konsequente Tiefe und behängt sie mit kleinen Fähnchen des Humors und der Verspieltheit, daß wir nicht irre werden an dem großen Thema von vornherein. Ich liebe dies Stück seit gestern.⁷⁷

Despite the radical divergence in critical opinion in Germany, Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen was one of the most frequently performed plays during the first three post-war seasons, with productions in each of the Western Zones and Berlin. It did not manage to touch the exceptional popularity of Ardrey's Leuchtfeuer even in the American Zone, but the success of that play was something

of a phenomenon. In a survey of the most popular American plays in Bayern in 1948 Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen came in fifth place after Leuchtfeuer, van Druten's Das Lied der Taube, Behrman 's Biographie und Liebe, and Lavery's Die erste Legion.⁷⁸ With the exception of Leuchtfeuer these plays were premiered later, however, and were much less complex in form and controversial in content than Wilder's drama, so that the comparison is misleading and the findings imprecise.⁷⁹ Even if statistically it was not the most frequently performed play, it was the most intensively discussed of the immediate post-war years.

The conditions for the first two German productions of Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen in Darmstadt and Berlin in 1945/46 were vastly different. The Orangerie possessed none of the technical potential of the largely unscathed Hebbel-Theater but it did manage to contain the mammoth proportions of Wilder's play nevertheless. Max Fritzsche was responsible for the set in both productions. In Darmstadt the critics hardly commented on the set beyond praising its appositeness, with the exception of J. S. Dang who noted:

... die vielen und schwierigen und doch raffinierten Bühnenbilder Max Fritzsches, (...) der Häuser abbröckeln und sich wieder ergänzen ließ, der einen kompletten Badestrand hinstellte und am Schlusse dem Frieden zeigte, wie so ein bitterböser Krieg die schönsten Häuser zurichten konnte.⁸⁰

Will Seringhaus mentions the successful improvization of costumes:

'Die Kostümfrage wird durch den Straßenanzug der Darsteller gelöst. Ein zutrauliches Mammut und ein kleiner schäkender Dinosaurier sind mit wenigen Lappen gemacht'.⁸¹ Seringhaus's description suggests that this original Stroux production did not attempt to make the allusions to National Socialism observed in the costumes of other productions. In none of the Darmstadt reviews is there a single mention

of any attempt to be topical at all, a fact which sets it apart from other German productions.

None the less, it can be assumed that some alterations were made to the text. From an annotated copy of Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen used for the Zürich production it can be seen that references to "Miss Somerset" were replaced by "Miss Becker (Name der Darstellerin der Sabina)" (Act I) so that in Darmstadt she was certainly called "Miss Kaun". Furthermore, the beauty competition in Act II was changed from "Miss Atlantic City 1942" to "Miss Atlantic City 1944" and may very well have become "Miss Atlantic City 1946" in Darmstadt. Similarly, in the final act the actors supposedly suffering from food poisoning were said to be in the "Rochus-Spital" rather than the "Bellevue-Spital" of the original, a detail which undoubtedly found an equivalent in the Darmstadt production too.

These are conjectures since critics devote very little time to discussing Stroux's production itself. A phenomenon which can be observed in relation to many modern plays can be discovered here, too: the critics are so overwhelmed by the play and the necessity of explaining it to their readers that they fail to devote much time to reviewing the production. Beyond general complimentary remarks on Stroux's achievement,⁸² the only point seized on particularly by the commentators refers to the interaction and integration of director and ensemble. According to J. S. Dang the latter was a 'verschworene Gemeinschaft',⁸³ while Emil Belzner notes:

Stroux hat sein Ensemble fest in der Hand. Die kleinste Nebenrolle ist einbezogen in die weiträumige Bewegung des Ganzen. Er läßt ein Kollektiv spielen, jede Einzelheit umrissen und dadurch der vielfältige Sinn des Ganzen zu einer monumentalen Revue zusammengeballt.⁸⁴

The undoubtedly enormous proportions of Stroux's production are symptomatic of a style developed during the previous decade and far removed from his uncharacteristically ascetic treatment of Antigone. National Socialist theatre, even the better productions, tended to be monumental and directors like Stroux did not immediately slough off stylistic habits simply because the times had changed. Indeed, Günther Rühle claims that Stroux was one of the directors who helped carry over the monumental style even into the Fifties.⁸⁵

The immensity of the Darmstadt production was only equalled by the immensity of the critics' adulation for the cast. It was largely as an ensemble that they judged the actors' performances. Special mention is made of Adalbert Gausche who played Mr Antrobus: he hit precisely the right tone (Belzner) and, according to the rather extravagantly phrased review by J. S. Dang 'hat etwas vom Faust und mehr noch vom Peer Gynt'.⁸⁶ Dang seems to have been at pains to provide his readers with points of reference in judging the characters, which might prove more confusing than enlightening.⁸⁷ Gitta Krell as Mrs Antrobus is said to have given a mature and convincing performance (Belzner/Dang). Most praise was heaped on Ingeborg Kaun for her portrayal of Lily-Sabina. She is the character around whom the whole play revolves, and Ingeborg Kaun excelled. Die Welt claimed she was 'sehr temperamentvoll und reizvoll',⁸⁸ attributes which are echoed in Erich Kästner's assessment of the production overall. Ingeborg Kaun herself he describes as 'eine Schauspielerin, deren eigenartiges Spieltemperament stärksten Eindruck hinterließ'.⁸⁹

In looking back on three productions of the play - in Darmstadt, Berlin, and München - Kästner thought the first had been 'die temperamentvollste und mitreißendste',⁹⁰ and was better than Stroux's first repetition in Berlin. Kästner, however, makes an important proviso: 'ich traue mir nicht die Fähigkeit zu, haarscharf auseinanderzuhalten, was damals auf das Konto des Regisseurs Karlheinz Stroux kam und welches Eigengewicht die erste Begegnung mit dem ungewöhnlichen Stück besaß.'⁹¹ By the time of the Berlin production and those which followed at the beginning of the 1946/47 season, the contents of the play were generally known so that reviews were not quite so heavily weighted towards literary interpretation.

Precisely one year after the German premiere - on 31 March 1947 - Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen opened at the Hamburger Kammerspiele directed by Helmut Käutner. This is one of the most interesting of the early productions because it was both successful and controversial. With the exception of the left-wing press the play was greeted positively in Hamburg but the production elicited reactions ranging from enthusiasm to utter damnation. This had a lot to do with Käutner and current prejudices. Käutner was at that time essentially a film director despite a reputation as a jack-of-all entertainment trades.⁹² He had made films throughout the Third Reich and continued to do so after the war as soon as licenses and materials could be acquired. His first post-war film was In jenen Tagen, completed in the Winter 1946/47, featuring a number of prominent stage and screen actors with whom he also worked in the theatre. The fact of Käutner's diversity on the one hand, and his basic reputation as a film director on the other, made traditionalists suspect his credentials as a theatre director, especially as for many the cinema was not an art form but merely cheap entertainment for the undiscerning masses, not worthy even of being mentioned in the same breath as the theatre.

Thus for the most damning reviewers of Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen there was no doubt that Käutner had laid the emphasis of his direction on 'lachen um jeden Preis, selbst um den einer vergewaltigten Dichtung'.⁹³ After listing the three catastrophes featured in the play Gerhard Schulte continues: 'Die Hamburger Kammerspiele fügen eine vierte Katastrophe hinzu: die Inszenierung Helmut Käutners (...) eine kabarettistisch aufgepöppelte Katastrophen-show, gespickt mit snobistischen Einfällen, albernen Gags und 'aktuellen' Anspielungen'.⁹⁴ By contrast, and to illustrate the extent to which opinions diverged, a passage from O. P. Uelzen's assessment of the same production:

Käutner wandte sich von der Revue und dem Klamauk ab, verdichtete die gegensätzlichen Stilelemente zu kleinen Episoden, aus denen er kunstvoll ein Mosaik fügte, und verstand es, die sinndeutenden Szenen des Spiels, vor allem die Mitwirkung der Zuschauer, zu einer effektvollen Charakterdarstellung zu formen. Bedeutsam vor allem war die im Handlungsablauf immer deutlicher werdende Hinwendung zum Ernsten...⁹⁵

It is hardly credible that two reviews could be so diametrically opposed. If these are taken as the extremes, those ranging between can be used to try and determine which was closer to the truth.

Another positive assessment appeared in the Hamburger Theaterjahrbuch for the year 1948/49. Indeed, P. Sackardt's article is so close to Uelzen's - not only in sentiment but also in language (he also claims that Käutner '(fügte) die Turbulenz der gegensätzlichen Stilelemente (...) zu einem Mosaik'⁹⁶) that it seems reasonable to assume that the one had consulted the other. Overwhelmingly positive, too, were the reviews in the Hamburger Echo and the Hamburger Allgemeine Zeitung. According to the former: 'Die Aufführung in den Kammerspielen

war das bisher stärkste Theatererlebnis in Hamburg der Nachkriegszeit'.⁹⁷ Kätner's interpretation is described as a 'schlackenlose Inszenierung',⁹⁸ in which the lightness of the background served to increase the effectiveness of the more earnest scenes. The Hamburger Allgemeine Zeitung also thought Kätner had struck an effective balance by creating 'ein glänzendes Feuerwerk (...) aber auch den tiefen Schatten'.⁹⁹ Even the critic of the Communist Hamburger Volkszeitung who rejected the play outright, credited Kätner with being 'einfallsreich'.¹⁰⁰

It is precisely on this point that opinions diverge. Just as the word "Befremden" could be found in numerous discussions of the play, the word "Einfall" constantly appears in connexion with Kätner's production. René Drommert, for example, noted: 'Kätner sprudelte vor Einfällen, besonders im glänzenden ersten Akt'.¹⁰¹ But in Drommert's opinion he drove Wilder's loosening of form to such extremes that it ceased to have a form at all:

Er übertrumpft Wilder sogar in seiner Lust
am artistischen Glanz. Die Formauflöckerung
treibt er nun endgültig bis zur Formauflösung,
wenn er den Zuschauern auch in der Pause keine
Ruhe gibt und sie mit einem gemimten Alarm
merkwürdig unernst in den Ernst des Spiels
zurückzieht.¹⁰²

This was the major problem with the Kätner production: too much Kätner in relation to Wilder. Kätner introduced a myriad of ideas which the greater scope of the medium film could easily cope with - on stage they endangered the meaning of the play. Dr. Otto Herrmann concluded:

Bei Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen
(...) ließ sich nicht (...) übersehen,
daß Thornton Wilder die Formauflösung nicht
um des artistischen Effektes willen betreibt,
sondern als dichterisches Mittel der
Wirkungssteigerung, der Steigerung der
Wirkung der Idee, nicht des Einfalls.¹⁰³

Käutner's very fantasy and imagination led to extravagances which are potentially inherent in the text anyway, but he indulged his extravagances to a greater extent than Stroux, who even in Berlin, was only accused by very few of having exaggerated the revue-like character of the second act.¹⁰⁴ In Hamburg the whole play was thought by many to resemble a revue. Referring to the first act a horrified Gerhard Schulte noted: '(er) empfängt seine theatralischen Akzente nicht etwa von der Flüchtlingszene, sondern von dem Gehoppse des Mammutbabys'.¹⁰⁵ In this context it is worth noting that while reviewers of other productions made special mention of the scene with the refugees, as has been seen, it did not make enough of an impression to warrant a special mention in the Hamburg critics' articles.

The controversy surrounding the production did not embrace the actors' performances nor Helmut Koniarsky's set. The set is praised but not described apart from Drommert's rather obtuse remark: 'Helmut Koniarsky ordnete sich dem beherrschenden Stilwillen des Regisseurs bemerkenswert unter'.¹⁰⁶ Just as in Darmstadt barely a negative word was written about the cast. Even in his demolition of the production, for example, Schulte admitted: 'Ein Wunder, daß Hermann Schomberg als Antrobus dennoch ein echtes Menschenbild zeichnen konnte'.¹⁰⁷ He was not totally convinced by Hilde Krah! who played Sabina, an assessment in which he was quite alone. All the other critics thought she was superb. The Hamburger Echo spoke of her 'komödiantisch gelöstes Spiel',¹⁰⁸ while the Hamburger Allgemeine Zeitung called hers 'eine fast virtuose Leistung'.¹⁰⁹ But perhaps the greatest tribute to Hilde Krah! came in an article actually dedicated to another member of the cast, Ida Ehre, who was highly acclaimed for her portrayal of Mrs Antrobus. In this

article Helmut Schmidt writes: 'Niemand wird Hilde Krahls Hausmädchen vergessen in Thornton Wilder's Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen'.¹¹⁰ This is some considerable achievement: still to be remembered for a role almost forty years later.

Forty years later Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen, though not totally lost in obscurity like Leuchtfeuer, is seldom performed in Germany. The emphasis of the play changed when it crossed the Atlantic and it became an essentially serious play with a message. In 1946, however, it thrived in post-war Germany because it seemed to be uniquely born of the times.

Robert Ardrey: Leuchtfeuer - (On) Thunder Rock

The most popular American play during the first post-war seasons, Leuchtfeuer, was written in 1939 by the Anglo-American dramatist and anthropologist Robert Ardrey. It was the only one of his dozen plays which ever achieved popularity in Europe after being a flop on Broadway.

The reasons for the European success and the American lack of it can be explained historically. In 1940 when On Thunder Rock was first performed in London, Britain was already involved in the war in Europe. Indeed, Germany was in control of virtually the whole of Western Europe with Italy as an ally and Britain as the lone opponent. At that time the central message of the play could hardly have been more relevant:

Charleston: We've reason to believe that wars will cease one day, but only if we stop them ourselves. Get into it to get out of it ... Problems can only be solved by doing them.¹

British audiences were given the confirmation that their part in the war was worthwhile. An author in America patted them on the back, encouraged them and perhaps let them hope that America might join in on their side too.

This was not to happen until the end of 1941. Although it became increasingly clear during the 1930s that American isolation was untenable in the ever more complex world situation, considerable legislation, especially the Neutrality Acts of 1935, 1936 and 1937, demonstrated the American intention not to get involved in other people's conflicts.² Some evidence of this attitude can be found in

Leuchtfeuer: on the morning of the invocation of the Anglo-Polish pact a local radio bulletin announces:

Ladies and gentlemen, at 8pm this evening this station will present a symposium on the subject:
'Can America avoid the impending European conflict?'³

The outbreak of war in Europe did catch the imagination of the Americans enough to allow the repeal of one provision in the Neutrality Laws, enabling the United States to deliver war materials to the United Kingdom almost immediately. There were also those who thought Japanese expansionism in the Far East had reached a point in 1939 where something had to be done. This view is held by the pilot, Streeter, in Leuchtfeuer, but it was not until the Japanese attacked the American naval base at Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941 that the Americans actually declared war on the Japanese Empire and subsequently developed the joint strategy with Britain against Germany.

Thus at the time when the play was performed on Broadway many Americans still hoped and believed the United States would be able to remain neutral in the European and Far Eastern conflicts. Its message, that problems can only be 'solved by doing them', was countered by a strong faction in favour of letting them solve their own problems.

On the continent of Europe Leuchtfeuer was first performed in German during the 1941/42 season but not, of course, in Germany. Leonard Steckel directed the play at the Schauspielhaus Zürich with Wolfgang Langhoff as Charleston. Later Langhoff himself would direct the play during his short sojourn as "Intendant" of the Städtische Bühnen Düsseldorf. This was during the first post-war season which saw a flood of productions in Germany. Leuchtfeuer was an immediate success.

In the 1945/46 season alone it was put on at more than a dozen theatres throughout the Western Zones and in Berlin.⁴ The German premiere was staged by the Hebbel-Theater in Berlin on 6 November 1945. It was the first modern American play to be performed on German soil for a decade (with the exception of Wilder's Eine Kleine Stadt which, as has been mentioned, was performed at the Deutsches Theater on 3 August 1945 before being removed from the repertoire by the Russian authorities). The Hamburger Kammerspiele chose the play for their official opening on 10 December 1945. It was their declared intention to cater for the "Nachholbedarf"⁵ with respect to foreign plays in Germany.

This fact alone accounted for part of the appeal of Leuchtfeuer. Furthermore, interest in Anglo-Saxon works was particularly great in the light of the anti-American cultural propaganda of the Nazis which had built up an image 'von der herzigen Einfalt und genormten kulturellen Anspruchslosigkeit der Amerikaner und Engländer'.⁶

With the war over, the specific appeal of Leuchtfeuer in Germany was different from that in Britain. Germany was no longer a nation at war but a nation faced with the massive problems of the aftermath of war. The emphasis of the play was not a call to go out and fight in the literal sense but to act positively in order to solve the problems of the day or, as Charleston would have it:

Charleston: We've got to create a new order out of the chaos of the old.⁷

It is, however, only at the end of the play that Charleston can reach this conclusion. The plot covers his transition from an ivory-tower recluse to an all-American man of action.

Leuchttfeuer is set in 1939 immediately before the outbreak of the Second World War.⁸ David Charleston, once a famous journalist who had been predicting a catastrophe of this kind for years, has become the keeper of the lighthouse on Thunder Rock in the middle of Lake Michigan. He has cut himself off completely from his former life, refusing even a radio, convinced that the world is 'hell-bent for destruction'⁹ and that nothing he can do will change the situation. He is portrayed as a man who wants to find solutions to problems but who does not believe there are any to be found in his own time:

Charleston: I've rejected a world that I can't help.
I'm building up one that I can.¹⁰

This new world is peopled by the Captain and a handful of passengers from the "Land O'Lakes", a ship wrecked near Thunder Rock in 1849, in whose memory the lighthouse was built. A bronze tablet set in the wall recalls the tragedy, and Charleston has found the passenger list with their names, ports of departure, and destinations in an old report. From this he creates these figures, initially as he would like them to be, subsequently as they really were. His first creations offer him sanctuary from his own world, the latter eventually force him back into it.

In his fantasy Charleston believes the Forty-Niners to be full of hope for the future but he is shown that they are as despairing of their time as he is of his. There is Miss Kirby, an early Emmeline Pankhurst, who has conceded defeat after twenty years dedicated struggle for womens' rights: 'I've fought a fight that can't be won.'¹¹ Fearing the inevitable loneliness of old age she is en route for Salt Lake City to find a Mormon husband at any cost before it is too late. Then there is Briggs, a working man from the Midlands, unable

to support his family on the pittance he had earned, who hopes to strike it lucky in California. When his wife dies in childbirth the true depths of his despair are revealed, his knowledge that his dream of Californian riches was nothing but a dream.

Charleston's major antagonist in his encounters with his recreated characters is Dr. Kurtz, a Viennese doctor fleeing to America. His house had been burnt down by people who thought that his experiments with anaesthetics were the work of the devil. He, too, is giving up, preparing to become a country doctor in Wisconsin, defeated by what appear to be the insurmountable problems of 1849.

From Charleston's standpoint ninety years on, 1849 is a year full of promise. He knows that the womens' rights Miss Kirby has given up hope of achieving, will be achieved, that workers will be able to support their families and that many advances will be made in medicine:

Charleston: I say that in less than a century every single thing you despair of will have been accomplished.¹²

By pointing out to them that at the very moment they are giving up the struggle, those who will bring it to a successful conclusion are already at work, Charleston attempts to rekindle their hope and confidence in their own time. He fails lamentably. They tell him he is mad, unrealistic, hopelessly optimistic; they do not want to be helped:

Charleston: Listen! All I know! And I can't help you ...
I dismiss you all! ... What good is your
world to me if I can't be of good to it?¹³

Even when he has proved to them that he is right, by revealing to them that they are dead - he shows them the tablet and switches on the radio - his companions, the creations of his mind, are not

prepared to disappear out of his life as he would like.

His predicament is like that of Goethe's "Zauberlehrling":

'Die ich rief, die Geister, Werd ich nun nicht los'.

At this point the tables are turned on Charleston as Kurtz makes clear to him that he can help them and himself. The passengers have variously deserted their tasks:

Dr. Kurtz: When I am assured that Mr. Charleston will stand and fight ... as I never did ... for whatever it is his world demands ... then I shall rest in peace. I shall not have lived in utter failure. 14

Kurtz succeeds in persuading Charleston:

Dr. Kurtz: Every obstacle to civilisation gets pushed aside, sooner or later ... Man has the power to decide simply this: when.15

In giving hope to his imaginary world of 1849 Charleston rediscovers hope in his own world of 1939, however gloomy the immediate prospects might be. At the end of the play he resigns his job as lighthouse keeper in order to return to life:

Charleston: We've got to create a new order out of the chaos of the old ... a new order that will eradicate oppression, unemployment, starvation and wars ... that's our job. 16

Because it is anchored in solid American pragmatism, Leuchttfeuer was one of the first plays to be selected for distribution in Germany by the Film, Theater and Music Branch of Information Control Division as part of the American re-education programme. It does not specifically promote democratic ideas but it was felt that the empirical process traced by the plot would be helpful in developing the Germans' ability to judge situations for themselves and re-order their feelings and

beliefs.¹⁷ In the introduction for potential German producers, Benno D. Frank summarized the appeal of the play as follows:

Ein Theaterstück, das für den deutschen Zuschauer nicht nur interessant seiner eigenartigen Form wegen, sondern bedeutend und ergreifend durch den tröstlichen Optimismus, der seinen Gehalt ausmacht. Es ist nicht jener oberflächliche Optimismus, den die Feigheit gebiert und der sich vor allem Überlegenen verschließt, sondern der tiefere, der auf dem Glauben und auf der Erfahrung beruht und auch das Unvollkommene in Kauf nimmt in der Gewißheit, daß es eine Stufe auf dem Weg zum Besseren ist.¹⁸

In fact Frank's account reveals at least as much about American attitudes towards progress and towards the theatre in Germany in 1945 as it does about Ardrey's play. "Comforting optimism", though painstakingly defined and invoked by someone who had been born and brought up in Germany, is not a concept firmly established in the German theatre alongside the "moralische Anstalt". It is related to American ideas and the American theatre and might just as well be applied to Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen as to Leuchtfeuer. Perhaps it was Frank's awareness of this fact which caused him to explain the term in such detail, trying to make it acceptable to German directors and audiences who might react negatively to such an unfamiliar and apparently superficial idea. What is not pointed out either by Frank or, indeed, by Ardrey is the fact that the progress invoked with such confidence by the play in 1939 has not only led positively to the solution of the 1849-characters' problems but negatively to a world in which other problems have become so acute that full-scale war is inevitable. On the contrary, Frank emphasizes the unshakeable belief in progress expressed in the play

which might also be seen as the prerogative of the New World set against European scepticism. This belief in the irrefutably positive nature of progress presented by Ardrey was precisely one of the values the Americans as victors wished to inculcate in the defeated nation whose country they were occupying. The fact that Frank calls for acceptance of imperfections along the path of progress may refer to a supposed German preoccupation with perfection; it may also imply a certain degree of scepticism on Frank's part with regard to the reception of American re-educative drama in Germany.

Frank's possible doubts notwithstanding, German audiences and, on the whole, critics, too, were enthusiastic about Leuchtfeuer. The "comforting optimism" was seldom considered too superficial and indeed found a ready ear in the wretchedness of the post-war years. And precisely the fact that the play does not pursue overtly re-educational aims, while providing ample opportunity for identifying with the dilemmas presented, helps to explain its inordinate success. There were exceptions to the euphoric response. René Drommert, reviewing the opening night at the Hamburger Kammerspiele, thought: 'Es hat viel Oberfläche - bis heran zur Plakatierung'.¹⁹ Drommert, however, was in a minority although quite a few commentators reacted against the blind belief in progress dismissing it as 'ganz amerikanisch'.²⁰ While praising the production at the Staatsschauspiel in München directed by Fritz Peter Buch in May 1946, Rudolf Bach commented:

Das Stück endet Anfang September 1939; im Radio hört man die letzten Meldungen unmittelbar vor Kriegsausbruch. Das greift, wenn sozusagen auf stoffliche Art, an die Kehle und ins Herz. Daß es gerade dieses Datum ist, an dem sich des jungen Mannes Lebensoptimismus entzündet, ist für uns kriegsgebeizte Europäer freilich ein wunderlicher Klang.²¹

Nevertheless, such reservations were clearly outnumbered by the enthusiastic reviews of critics like Friedrich Luft who, writing on the Berlin premiere at the Hebbel-Theater, claimed: 'Das Stück ist von einer deutlich ziehenden und rüttelnden Kraft. Das erste moderne in diesem (...) Jahre, das uns tatsächlich verwandelt entläßt'.²² In Memmingen the theatre critic of Der Allgäuer even discovered a literary antecedent not in Germany but in England: 'Die leitende Idee des Stoffes wurzelt eigentlich in Shakespeares 'Hamlet', dessen charakterliche Doppeldeutigkeit des Zweiflers und Kämpfers in der Gestalt des jungen Feuerturmwächters Charleston ein modernes Abbild findet'.^{23,24} The Köln critic H. Arno went so far as to invoke Goethe's Faust ('Wer immer strebend sich bemüht, Den können wir erlösen') - surely the highest accolade. He continued: 'Uns ist, als seien wir selbst gemeint, so sehr fühlen wir uns angesprochen (...) Für den Feuerwächter und in noch weit höherem Maße für uns sind diese Worte das Leuchtfeuer, das uns durch die dunkelste Wirrnis führen wird'.²⁵

Arno's reference to the title of the play in a symbolic sense is symptomatic of the language of the play as a whole. But only of the play in German, not in English as a close comparison of the texts in the two languages shows. Indeed, it might be argued that the German translation completely changes the emphasis of Ardrey's original.

Leuchtfeuer is not easy to obtain in German today. The München publishers Ahn & Simrock only possess a few copies of a translation dated 1954 by Dr. Rudolf Frank. The Züricher Schauspielhaus also retains undated copies, assumed to be those used for the 1941/42 production, of a translation by Frank Ruddy who is the translator

cited by Benno D. Frank in the aforementioned collection of plays selected by the American authorities for distribution in Germany.²⁶ A comparison of the two German versions showed them to be identical apart from some stage directions missing in the later text. A "Lektor" at Ahn & Simrock was able to confirm the suspicion that Dr Rudolf Frank and Frank Ruddy - as the names might suggest - were one and the same person.²⁷ Dr. Rudolf Frank was a distinguished German-Jewish translator who emigrated to Switzerland in 1938 and adopted the pseudonym Frank Ruddy. His translation was used for the 1941/42 production in Zürich and, it can be assumed, for the German performances immediately following the war.²⁸

Translation is a problematic undertaking at the best of times. The beginning of the 1940s was not the best of times. Frank Ruddy was an emigré in Switzerland faced with a play written in modern American, strewn with jargon he obviously did not understand. This can be the only explanation for some of the more blatant translation errors to be found in his text. Examples include the rendering of

Streeter: The only time in my life I ever hocked my plane ...²⁹
by

Streeter: Das einzige mal (sic), daß ich meinen Apparat in die
Brüche geflogen habe ...³⁰

"Hock" was probably not to be found even in the most reliable dictionary, so Ruddy wrote what he thought it meant - to destroy. This type of incorrect translation might be referred to as the "unforced errors" of translating. In other cases such errors affect not only the meaning of a specific phrase but contribute to an overall shift in emphasis. There are many examples of this in Ruddy's translation. In Act I

Charleston talks to Streeter about his parents and their drinking habits. In English the passage reads:

Charleston: My folks used to say, a friend is an excuse for mischief; always have friends. That's why they married each other, so they'd always have an excuse handy.³¹

The same section in Ruddy's translation:

Charleston: Meine Alten sagten immer: 'Ein Freund ist der beste Trost im Unglück; darum muß man immer einen Freund haben'. Und darum haben sie sich geheiratet, damit sie immer einen Trost bei der Hand haben.³²

Ruddy's text is not only less amusing, it is much more sentimental than the original, and it is especially in this latter respect that a major difference can be seen between the English and the German texts.³³

While it is quite possible that Ruddy was not familiar with vocabulary like "hock", it seems rather unlikely that he did not know the meaning of "mischief". Nor is it only in the form of incorrect translation that the sentimentality of the play is emphasized. Ruddy actually alters the text, making it more serious and sentimental. An example can be found in Act II where a dialogue between Charleston and Melanie in German bears little relation to the same dialogue in English.³⁴ In this section Melanie, who in Thunder Rock is despairing and impetuous on the surface but truly courageous and prepared to fight against the odds for her father's work underneath, takes a defiant stance. The resigned tone allotted to her in Leuchfeuer is both out of character and misleading.³⁵ This alteration is immediately followed by a number of insertions: sections not changed but added. The lengthy example cited on the following page is typical of the change in the tone and character of the play. The passage ensues from a discussion during which Melanie

Charleston: Why not?

Melanie: You are too, what you call it, god-damned cheerful. (Charleston laughs. She looks at him soberly.)

Charleston: Can't you even laugh at that?

Melanie: At what?

Charleston: Yourself.

Melanie (playfully. She meditates a moment):
I think, David, if you were a little bird I should perhaps throw a stone at you. (He chuckles. Resolutely she takes a book off the shelf and throws it at him. She turns to the centre door, back, just as her mother, Anne-Marie, enters. And as the book crashes to the floor behind Charleston.)

Anne-Marie: Oh! (Melanie goes out). Oh! I intrude.³⁶

C. Warum manchmal nein? (erlacht)

M. (kritisch) Sie sind viel zu kindisch und sorglos, so ahnungslos vergnügt und unbekümmert: das paßt nicht in unsere Zeit. Die ist, weiß Gott, zu ernst dazu.

C. (ein Lachen der Befreiung)

M. Sie haben ja keine Ahnung vom Leben. Wenn Sie durchgemacht hätten, was wir erlebt haben - In dieser trostlosen Zeit - (außer sich) Wenn Sie jetzt wirklich ein Vogel wären: ich würde jetzt einen Stein nach Ihnen schmeißen! (er lacht noch immer, da ergreift sie eines der Bücher aus dem Regal und wirft es nach ihm. Im selben Augenblick erscheint in der Tür vorne Melanie's Mutter)

A-M. Aber Melanie!

M. (rennt unten Mitte hinaus)

A-M. Entschuldigen Sie, wenn ich störe -³⁷

has told Charleston that she sometimes likes him and sometimes doesn't.

Ruddy's own experiences and opinions seem to have influenced his attitude towards his translation. It is as though he felt the play's educational function might be relativised by the humour and playfulness of certain scenes and that the serious messages of the play were in danger of getting lost. As has been indicated in the discussion of theatre people's hopes for the character of the theatre in Germany, Ruddy's fears did not ensue from a personal obsession: a not insignificant group considered Germany to be unique in according art in general and the theatre in particular the requisite degree of seriousness. It was therefore assumed that the humour of the English could only be construed as a weakness of the play in German. An attempt to compensate for this assumed weakness is especially obvious in the final act, at the end of Charleston's major dialogue with Dr Kurtz. Where an idea is expressed once in English it is repeated two or three times in other words in German,³⁸ as though repetition were a function of transparency.

Furthermore, a rather superficial attempt is made to emphasize the play's timelessness. Sections which root the play firmly in 1939 are made more general, more applicable to any time. Thus Flanning's thoughts on the current fate of the world in Act I are changed from:

Flanning: ... How's everything going to come out? ...
Hitler, Mussolini ... What's the world
going to do with all the refugees from
Germany?³⁹

to

Flanning: ... Ich schaue und lausche und lese und
fühle, was da alles vorkommt ... Roosevelt,
Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, Chamberlain
... Und diese Flüchtlinge alle! Wie wird
die Welt sie verdauen?'⁴⁰

Yet this attempt is not characterized by consistency since aspects like the radio-broadcast in Act III announcing the invocation of the Anglo-Polish pact remain unchanged (unchangeable?).⁴¹ While partly removing the play from its historical and political context on the one hand, it would seem that on the other, political points are made which are not in Ardrey's text. Why else, for example, should Kurtz's list of men inspired by genius in Act II include Lessing in the German instead of Goethe who is cited in the English?⁴² And surely it can only be understood in political terms that the simple English stage direction "dance music" is rendered as "Neger-Jazzmusik" in German,⁴³ quite specifically invoking a racial taboo of the Nazis.

A further shift in the emphasis of the play as a whole results from the introduction of a religious element which is not to be found in the original. In some cases it may be the consequence of misinterpretation: in the first act during one of Charleston's long speeches to Streeter, a reference is made to 'look(ing) up the answer in the back of the book'.⁴⁴ Charleston uses the phrase metaphorically but Ruddy takes it to mean the "Buch der Bücher",⁴⁵ the Bible. The opportunity is taken to expand Ardrey's secular speculations on the theme of expansionism by adding the biblical quotation 'Seid fruchtbar und mehret euch und breitet euch aus über die Lande'.⁴⁶ Even less unmistakably intentional is the religious aspect added to Captain Joshua's character in translation.

A section inserted in a short dialogue between Charleston and the Captain which bears no reference whatever to Joshua's role as Charleston's confessor in English, reads:

Josua: Ich bin Ihr Gesellschafter, Ihr Ratgeber,
 Ihr Seelsorger, sozusagen, Ihre Kirche...⁴⁷

Such changes make Leuchtfeuer and Thunder Rock into two different plays. The differences are not restricted to character or atmosphere. Alterations were also made to the form. While including unnecessary repetitions of ideas, the German text excludes necessary elements of form, particularly with regard to Captain Joshua. His special role in relation to the form of the play will be discussed later. At this point it is merely important to note that the German text was not only expanded by insertions but thinned down by deletions: several are references to Captain Joshua and the passengers as creations of Charleston's mind, a kernel feature of the play's form.⁴⁸

The precise reasons for the differences in the German translation are difficult to determine. When considering Leuchtfeuer and its success in the Germany of 1945 however, it is important to realize that it was not the same play that was put on in London and on Broadway under the title Thunder Rock. It had become a more serious, more sentimental, even more sententious play and had also forfeited a good deal of the wit inherent in the English dialogue. As ever, it was up to the directors and the actors which emphasis they placed on the raw text of the play, as will be seen with reference to specific productions of Leuchtfeuer during the 1945/46 season.

Before looking at individual performances it is necessary to discuss the form of the play in more detail. It was not totally new to German audiences but it would be an exaggeration to claim they were familiar with plays featuring real and illusory characters created in one character's fantasy. They might have seen Pirandello's Sechs Personen suchen einen Autor or Wedekind's Frühlings Erwachen, but what had become quite a familiar genre in other parts of Europe and America by 1945 was new to Germany: the "magisches Theater". This term embraces plays like Thornton Wilder's Eine kleine Stadt and Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen or Paul Osborn's Der Tod im Apfelbaum as well as Leuchtfeuer, and was a new phenomenon on the German stage.

Apart from the fact that they were all written by Americans⁴⁹ what are the features common to these plays. They all combine surrealistic or "magische" with realistic elements. There was considerable antagonism towards the "magisches Theater" amongst German commentators because they doubted its relevance to the Germany of the post-war years. In the following passage from an article by Gunter Groll for example, it is clear that his acceptance of the form is grudging:

... das Gesamtphänomen des 'magischen Theaters' hat (...) einen unverkennbar neuartigen, unmittelbar aus dem Zentrum der Zeit genährten und insofern legitimen Zug. In ihm spricht sich wohl Hilflosigkeit, Sehnsucht, Flucht vor der Wirklichkeit und die Urangst der Epoche, doch gleichzeitig das Einströmen eines verwandelnden Grundgefühls und ein neues existentielles Bewußtsein aus.⁵⁰

All these elements can be found in Leuchtfeuer, including a brand of existentialism which is closely related to the thinking of Sartre, although Leuchtfeuer pre-dated Sartre's first play, Die Fliegen,

by three years. Sartre wrote: 'Das Erregendste, was das Theater zeigen kann, ist ein Charakter, der im Begriff ist, sich zu bilden, den Augenblick der Wahl, des freien Entschlusses, der (...) sein ganzes Leben bindet.'⁵¹ It is at precisely this moment that Ardrey presents Charleston, the moment when he alone argues through the question of self-determination. According to Sartre, the final decision is one only the individual alone can make and only in respect of himself. This, too, is the situation in Leuchtfeuer since the variety of characters who influence Charleston's decision-making are in fact only creations of his own mind. His choice to determine his own existence is made in the freedom of total isolation on Thunder Rock. Furthermore, it is a choice in favour of humanity; it involves taking responsibility for others and acting upon it, it means coping with reality and playing an active role in creating the future. Such considerations determine the spirit in which Sartre wrote Die Fliegen which he intended as an antidote to the 'Mutlosigkeit' and 'Selbstverleugnung' which overcame many Frenchmen after the defeat of France in 1940.⁵² The parallel to the situation in Germany in 1945 is clear (and Sartre was of the opinion that 'Selbstverleugnung' would not help the Germans any more than the French), and it was in this situation that Leuchtfeuer flourished. Sartre chose myth to convey his ideas; Ardrey chooses a confrontation with "das Magische", in the form of the dead brought to life, in order to renew the will to live in the real world. In this respect Leuchtfeuer is both more thoroughly optimistic and more practically oriented than many of the other plays described as "magisches Theater".

It was for this reason that a number of the most antagonistic critics were prepared to accept Ardrey's play while rejecting the form as a whole. But it was also a political debate. The Left considered the "magisches Theater" to be decadent because its lack of realism

tended to divert attention away from the concrete social issues of the time. Many theatre people spoke out against the form:

Dr. Falk Harnack, for example, condemned the 'Reaktivierung der Toten'⁵³ in his pamphlet Die Aufgaben des deutschen Theaters in der Gegenwart in 1946. The only play spared his wrath was Leuchtfeuer because its portrayal of the dead leads to the renewal of man's belief in his ability to build a better world. In lyric vein the following rhyme, which appeared in the magazine Theaterdienst in 1947 under the heading "Heiteres von Peter Michel", expresses the same reservations:

Wilder, Anouilh & Co.
Euch spielen nenn' ich: Gift statt Brot
dem hungernden Volke geben.
Ihr malt so verlockend Sterben und Tod -
Wir aber wollen leben.⁵⁴

It cannot be denied either that some of the antagonism towards the "magisches Theater" sprang from a feeling of European cultural superiority in which the "surrealistisches Theater" of France was seen as genuine, the "magisches Theater" of America as a clever compilation of European influences and American fantasy.⁵⁵

If the "magisches Theater" was a new form to German audiences in 1945, Leuchtfeuer was an especially complicated, if none too orthodox example of the genre. In the final act of Unsere kleine Stadt for instance, the dead come to life and talk to one another. In Leuchtfeuer the dead, who also come to life and talk to one another, are created by another character in the play and talk to him, too. Thus Robert Ardrey created Charleston who in his turn is supposed to create Captain Joshua and the passengers of the "Land O' Lakes". Everything the "dead characters" say is determined by Charleston. The audience is presented with the personification of an argument running on in one man's mind. This situation is made more complex at the end of the second act.

when Captain Joshua is enlightened about his status. As Charleston explains to his "real-life" friend Streeter:

Charleston: I got so damned confused myself, at first,
I had to have a confidant. I told Joshua.⁵⁶

It is part of Captain Joshua's role in the play to remind the audience of the various planes of reality and that he and the other passengers only exist in Charleston's mind. Several examples might be cited from Act II such as the scene in which Captain Joshua upbraids Charleston for his naivety in creating idealized passengers. He then reminds the audience just whose ideas and opinions are being presented:

Charleston: Whether or not you're satisfied with these
people, I am ...

Capt. Joshua: That you're not ... If you're so satisfied
with your handiwork, why do I speak what I
do? I make no move, I speak no word,
that comes not to your mind first.⁵⁷

As has been mentioned, this important function of Joshua's role is reduced considerably in the German version of the play. This last quotation, for example, is deleted from the text altogether. It can only be assumed that Ruddy did not wish the audience to be reminded of the complex levels of reality, preferring illusion to alienation because the audience would be more familiar with this form. The form of Leuchtfeuer was strange to German audiences in 1945 and thus presented both a challenge and a risk to directors: would the audience understand it? In order to preempt misunderstandings Wolfgang Langhoff chose to include a résumé of the plot in the programme of the Düsseldorf production.⁵⁸

Charleston in Leuchtfeuer was Langhoff's only role during the few months he spent in Düsseldorf. It was directed by Carl Balhaus, on temporary loan from München, and opened on 30 May 1946 at the Volksbühne in Holthausen. In the immediate vicinity it followed productions in Essen, Wuppertal, and Köln.⁵⁹

The critics' response was thoroughly positive to all aspects of the production and the play. The reviewer in the newspaper Freiheit recommended it to his readers:

Geht hin und schaut sie euch an! Man erlebt nicht oft, daß ein Geschehen auf der Bühne dieses Maß an entzündender und mitreißender Kraft ausstrahlt. So wünschen wir uns das neue Theater.⁶⁰

Several critics gave special mention to the scene in which Briggs appears for the second time, revealing his fears to the Captain, while Charleston listens from the staircase. In this production the reflection of the light falling on stage from the top of the lighthouse contributed significantly to the atmosphere, imprinting the scene on the reviewer's memory.⁶¹

The same critic emphasized the achievement of the cast as a whole: 'Das Ensemble zeigte ohne Ausnahme eine vorbildliche darstellerische Kultur, im Sprachlichen wie im Bewegungsmäßigen'.⁶² Such appreciation was echoed by other critics although special praise was lavished on Langhoff. According to the Rheinische Post:

'Er gab der Figur die ihm eigene wache innere Gespanntheit und den versonnen-nachdenklichen, dabei ernsten und knappen Ton'.⁶³

The Rhein-Echo spoke of 'Langhoffs ebenso fein n[un]tancierte (sic) wie kraftvoll gespannte Darstellung'.⁶⁴ His major achievement was to present the development from passive observer to active participant

so subtly, that at the point when he eventually proclaims his faith in himself and by extension in mankind, one reviewer actually felt able to relate Ardrey's belief in the future to his own situation in the Germany of 1946.⁶⁵ This process was aided by Langhoff's exceptional voice control: 'Hatte der Charleston, der darauf brannte, wieder mitzumachen, nicht eine ganz andere Stimme als jener, der zu Anfang mit seinem Freund Streeter diskutierte'.⁶⁶ All the reviews note the enthusiastic reception afforded to the production, emphasizing that the audience appreciated the expression of belief in the future at least as much as the achievement of the director and performers.

Plays like Leuchtf Feuer in productions like Balhaus's which allowed such immediate identification and presented such comforting optimism were enthusiastically received. In the specific case of Leuchtf Feuer, though no conclusion can be reached, it is interesting to speculate whether the effect would have been the same if the play had been presented as Ardrey wrote it before Ruddy re-worked it for German-speaking audiences. Certainly the reception of the play in Berlin was equally euphoric as in Düsseldorf, but for an extra special reason. Not only was it the very first production of Leuchtf Feuer in Germany at all, it also saw the return of Ernst Busch to the German stage. He had fled to France, been captured by the Gestapo, but had survived the Hitler-regime due to the intervention of Gustaf Gründgens, eventually to be released from prison in Berlin-Moabit at the end of the war. Walther Karsch devoted the whole of the lengthy first paragraph of his review of the play to a eulogy of Ernst Busch,⁶⁷ but perhaps the most concise and revealing comments were those of Fritz Erpenbeck:

Charleston war Ernst Busch. Eine von innen her gestraffte, leidenschaftlich durchlebte, mit höchster Sprachpräzision gestaltete Leistung. Er, der schon vor 1933 ein großer Könnner war, ist noch gereift. Was andere zerbrochen hätte, hat ihn gestählt, elastischer, für die feinsten menschlichen Nuancen empfänglich und wiedergabefähig gemacht.⁶⁸

With odd exceptions the rest of the cast was praised moderately.

As in Düsseldorf special mention was made of the interpretation of the working-man Briggs. It is an interesting cameo role partly due to the fact that it is played through twice with totally different characterization each time. Briggs at the Hebbel-Theater was played by Hans-Hermann Schaufuß. Fritz Erpenbeck noted: 'H. H. Schaufuß(...) bot uns eines jener bis ins Feinste durchgearbeiteten, vom Schauspieler noch vertieften Kabinettstücke, die im Gedächtnis und im Gefühl haften bleiben'.⁶⁹

More so than in Düsseldorf (and with the possible exception of Erpenbeck) a differentiation was drawn between the quality of the play and that of the performance - to the advantage of the play.

Friedrich Luft, for example, commented: 'Ein mutiger und grandioser Stoff(...) Der Abend war im Thema grandios und in der Darstellung, besonders was Ernst Buschs Leistung betrifft, weitgehend adäquat'.⁷⁰

'Weitgehend adäquat' hardly compares with the 'vorbildliche darstellerische Kultur',⁷¹ attributed to the Düsseldorf production. Taken all in all, however, it must have been an exceptional production to entice comments like 'Spitzenleistung'⁷² from such a rigorous reviewer as Erpenbeck. He was usually at odds with the more conservative Walther Karsch. But in this case Karsch, too, was enthusiastic although he thought the direction was sometimes 'etwas schwunglos',⁷³ especially at the beginning.

Leuchtfeuer was directed by the "Intendant" of the Hebbel-Theater, Karl Heinz Martin. Until 1945 he had been "Spielleiter" at the Schiller-Theater. For a couple of months immediately following the cessation of hostilities he ran the Renaissance Theater in the British Sector until it was requisitioned for troop entertainment. The Americans then gave him the licence for the Hebbel-Theater which opened on 15 August 1945⁷⁴ with the Dreigroschenoper. During the first post-war season Martin concentrated on modern works by both German and foreign authors. Leuchtfeuer was not the only German premiere staged there that year although it was the only German premiere of a foreign play,⁷⁵ and the only one directed by Martin himself.

All the critics emphasized the care with which Martin tackled the direction. Werner Fiedler, for instance, noted: 'Die Aufführung hat unter Martins Spielleitung mit liebevoller Sorgfalt den tiefen Sinn des Stückes herausgearbeitet'.⁷⁶ Friedrich Luft and Paul Rilla recognized similar qualities in Martin's approach. The former commented: 'Karl Heinz Martin hat es (das Stück) sorgsam vorbereitet',⁷⁷ while the latter remarked: 'In sorgfältiger Tönung werden die realistischen und phantastischen Elemente aufeinander bezogen'.⁷⁸ Rilla's comment highlights the problem of dealing with real and unreal characters without allowing even the hint of a ghost-story to distract attention from the message of the play. Martin obviously mastered this difficult task. It was not only Paul Rilla who pointed out that Leuchtfeuer was 'kein Gespenstertheater',⁷⁹ Erpenbeck also praised Martin for the 'lebensvolle Realistik'.⁸⁰

which avoided the dangers of ghostly diversions. The only minor criticisms of the direction ensued from the realism employed. Both Erpenbeck and Luft noted: 'Die nie aussetzenden Geräusche der nahen See oder des Regens überdecken da zuweilen sogar die Dialoge und lenken ab'.⁸¹ Despite this Luft continued: 'Aber sonst erweist es sich als glücklich, das Irreale so auf der flachen Hand des Realen erwachsen zu lassen'.⁸²

The realistic approach to the play was underpinned by the stage set. All three acts take place in the same setting which Ardrey describes in some detail at the beginning of Act I. It is necessary to suggest massiveness, a room so tall that it disappears out of sight of the audience to the light chamber above. The only complication is the stairway which Ardrey imagines starting left forward, clinging to the wall and rising in a slow spiral until it passes out of sight, forward, high right. Reviewers rarely describe the set in any detail; often it is not mentioned at all. Even a reliable observer like Karsch did not think it necessary to spare it a few words in his review, while his colleague on the Berliner Zeitung, Paul Rilla, restricted himself to a general, atmospheric comment: 'Das Bühnenbild Heinz Pfeiffenbergers schafft aus dem wuchtigen Mauern- und Treppenwerk des Leuchtturms einen Spielraum von realistischer Festigkeit'.⁸³ Of all the articles considered on the Berlin production of Leuchtfener only that of Werner Fiedler really allows any degree of set- as well as atmospheric reconstruction:

Das eindrucksvolle Bühnenbild Heinz Pfeiffenbergers aus dem Innern des Leuchtturms gibt mit dem kühnen Schwung der aufsteigenden Wendeltreppe nicht nur den Menschen, sondern auch der Phantasie die Möglichkeit zum Aufstieg. Die grauen Wände mauern die Vorgänge nicht ein, sondern lassen den jenseitig waltenden Kräften Zutritt...⁸⁴

Reviewing Leuchtfeuer at the Hamburger Kammerspiele, René Drommert did not consider it necessary to say more about the set than that it contributed to the 'atmosphärische Dichte' of the production.⁸⁵ The Kammerspiele chose Leuchtfeuer for their opening performance on 10 December 1945 just a month after the Berlin production.

For the director of the Kammerspiele, Ida Ehre, the play was symbolic. It set the standards for what she hoped her theatre would achieve.⁸⁶ In an article analyzing the initial productions at the new theatre at the end of the first post-war season Ilse Höger, "Dramaturgin" at the Kammerspiele, wrote:

Es gilt, Wahrhaftigkeit zu suchen und die ewig unveränderten Werte des Menschseins einer Zeit der Inflation aller seelischen und geistigen Werte gegenüberzustellen, Probleme anzupacken, die Individuum wie Allgemeinheit bewegen, Dunkelheiten und Mißstände aufzuzeigen und in der Auslegung der einfachen und klaren Wahrheiten des Lebens, wie es seit dem Bestehen der Menschheit ist, umso tiefer und echter sein zu können.⁸⁷

The Kammerspiele selected their repertoire on these principles, concentrating at first on modern works from abroad.

It has already been mentioned that some members of the press in Hamburg were not nearly so impressed by the play Leuchtfeuer as their colleagues in Berlin although the fact that so few reviews of the production still exist, make it difficult to draw significant conclusions. It seems that initially Hamburg audiences had precisely the problems coping with the play which Wolfgang Langhoff foresaw when writing the introduction to the Düsseldorf production. According to Ida Ehre, who played Miss Kirby, there were about fifty people in the audience on the opening night and their immediate reaction was one

of 'großes Befremden'.⁸⁸ It soon changed to enthusiasm however, and after ten days of poor houses, the theatre burst at the seams at every performance.

The director in Hamburg was Robert Michal. Drommert credited him with creating a real ensemble for this first production: 'Es fällt geradezu schwer, die individuellen schauspielerischen Verdienste gegen die des Regisseurs abzuheben'.⁸⁹ A true sense of ensemble was to become one of the features of the Kammerspiele, not achieved so quickly or thoroughly by other theatres in general and certainly not by those in Hamburg. At the same time it should not be overlooked that Leuchtfeuer is an ensemble-play containing a number of major roles besides the one huge part, Charleston. Due to this fact many productions elicited praise for their ensemble work: one commentator wrote of the Stuttgart production at the Neues Theater directed by Günter Blöcker in May 1946: 'Trotz der vielen neuen Namen unter den Darstellern empfindet man den Eindruck eines guteingestellten Ensembles';⁹⁰ at Memmingen one critic wrote of the production directed by Otto Riegel in June 1946: 'Die gut geführten Einzelfiguren bewegen sich in einem abgerundeten Ensemble',⁹¹ while the Köln production directed by Karl Pempelfort in April 1946 was referred to as 'eine gute Kollektivleistung',⁹² and so on.

It is worth remarking at this point that ensemble, the creation of well-balanced companies, was a political issue which excited interest on a broad basis. It was not only the critics of the Left such as Harnack and Erpenbeck who rejected what Friedrich Luft referred to as the 'Stargasttheater',⁹³ which sprang up again very quickly after the war. In December 1947 Gustav Gründgens wrote to an actor disgruntled

about the parts he had been offered: 'Ein Theater wie das unsere, das sich unter den schwierigsten Verhältnissen im Aufbau befindet, kann nur Künstler gebrauchen, die vor ihrem eigenen Prestige die Gesamtleistung des Theaters im Auge haben'.⁹⁴ Yet as has been seen, in Berlin especially, a number of distinguished actors and actresses preferred to give guest appearances at various theatres rather than becoming integrated into permanent companies. This was also the case in Hamburg where the "Dramaturg" of the Deutsches Schauspielhaus noted: 'Viele Darsteller schließen aus wirtschaftlichem Opportunismus, der in dieser schweren Zeit begreiflich ist, nur noch Gastspielverträge ab'.⁹⁵ There were many critics of this type of behaviour because it was seen that an opportunity to establish a more democratic form of theatre in Germany was being lost. In 1945 everyone was in the same situation with the one difference that some bore famous names and some did not. But because everyone was in the same situation these famous names could have been made part of what Harnack described as a 'festgefügte künstlerische Gemeinschaft'.⁹⁶ Many theatres did not manage because some directors and some "Intendanten" were also more interested in personal success than collective achievement or because plays were chosen which ran counter to any attempt to institute more democratic companies.

As the Hamburger Kammerspiele proved, the way to develop real ensemble work was by selecting plays which provided for genuine co-operation within the company. Robert Ardrey's Leuchtfeuer, for all the liberties taken with the translation, was the kind of play which promoted ensemble performance, and in the case of Ida Ehre's ensemble at least, was instrumental in forming just such a company.

Comment has already been made on the changes made both to Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen and Leuchtfuehr in productions in Germany. The alterations to Leuchtfuehr were more thorough especially as the translator's changes were compounded by directors' own interpretations. In both cases though, the changes were made in order to make the plays more German, that is, to adapt them to the assumed needs of German audiences. In respect of Ruddy's translation of Leuchtfuehr I even contend that his intention was not just to make the play more accessible but to emphasize those aspects which he considered to be important. This is certainly the only explanation for the introduction of religious elements into Leuchtfuehr. Although the play was first performed in German in Zürich it would seem that Ruddy was pursuing a personal programme of re-education.

In both plays the alienation effects used by Wilder and Ardrey are moderated in Germany in favour of a greater degree of illusion. The effect of this is that the audience are more likely to identify with the action on stage, reducing the critical distance and lending weight to the ideas presented, and thus ultimately increasing their influence. This can be observed to a greater extent in productions of Leuchtfuehr than Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen, not only due to the retention of more alienation effects but also to the more bizarre and less accessible action of the latter play.

The main thrust of Leuchtfuehr is to achieve a more positive and active attitude towards the future. Clearly it is this attitude combined with the development of ideas through argument which made the play acceptable to the critics of the Left, notwithstanding the surrealist elements which, in the case of Wilder's play, they rejected totally. Much more directly than Wilder, Ardrey calls for action to change one's situation, and it was possible for left-wing commentators

to interpret his intentions in terms of a new social order in Germany.

Ardrey was not a Communist any more than Wilder was the stock reactionary the Left in Germany liked to portray him as. Once again interpretability proves to be a key concept in relation to an American work. Leuchtfeuer could be understood in terms of taking responsibility for one's own actions although it is clear that Benno D. Frank and the American authorities had quite different ideas in mind from Fritz Erpenbeck and his colleagues. The former were more interested to emphasize the optimism, the belief in progress, however imperfect, towards an inevitably ever-better future. The latter sought new truths and radically new attitudes and therefore valued the play more for its existential and practical contents.

Both its existentialism and its exceptional optimism are aspects singling Leuchtfeuer out from other American plays of the period. The optimism is clearly that of a pre-nuclear age and the total disappearance of the play from modern repertoires - despite a much-altered re-working for television in 1985 - indicate that it was the specific conditions under which it was written and first presented in Germany which determined its success. Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen has never since achieved comparable popularity either. Both plays were the products of a nation with a short but continuous history and a proud and confirmed identity, but both - subjected to varying degrees of alteration by translators and directors - experienced their greatest success when being presented to a defeated and disoriented nation anything but confident in its identity. What they offered were not so much guidelines towards establishing a German identity in the new situation as confirmation that even out of an apparently hopeless situation a new identity could emerge: 'Problems can only be solved by doing them. We've got to create a new order out of the chaos of the old',⁹⁷

The German Classics

Throughout this study considerable emphasis has been placed on the special role played by the works of German classicism in the new post-war theatre. Many theatre people were agreed with Falk Harnack that 'die Klassik ist die Grundlage für jeden Spielplan'¹ and audiences, too, inevitably called for more classic than modern plays. In September 1946, for example, the Berlin newspaper Nachtextexpress posed the question: 'Wollen Sie auf der Bühne mehr Klassiker sehen oder mehr Zeitstücke?'. In 81.7% of the replies the classics were chosen and only 18.3% were in favour of more topical plays.² While the theatre-historian may not subscribe to the division of plays into two separate categories "Klassiker" and "Zeitstücke", claiming that at the time it was written Die Räuber was just as topical as Wolf's Professor Mamlock was in 1933, for the audiences of 1945 plays like Nathan der Weise, Die Räuber and Iphigenie auf Tauris were not comparable with Professor Mamlock, Des Teufels General or Die Illegalen. They belonged in the almost hallowed category "Klassiker", a category commanding unparalleled respect in the German theatre. A questionnaire carried out in Bonn in 1947 revealed that 90:100 people preferred the German classics above all else,³ and in an article reviewing the 1946/47 season in Freiburg Dr. T. Wberdick was able to establish 'wie sehr sich die Klassiker behaupten'.⁴

Apart from obvious explanations such as the fact that the classics had always been the staple fare of provincial theatres in Germany which were strongly supported by the educated middle-classes ("Bildungsbürgertum") brought up on the classics, the immediate post-war dedication to these works can be explained in a number of ways, one of which has not been mentioned so far: the German classics were seen as a substitute for

new topical drama (the "Schubladen-Debatte" to be discussed presently). As soon as it became clear that, for whatever reasons, the theatres were not going to perform topical works by clandestine German authors - and this was obvious as early as 1946⁵ - the classics were suddenly recognized as the topical plays par excellence. Following a production of Kabale und Liebe, for instance, which elicited an enthusiastic response from an audience composed largely of young people Werner Ahrens noted:

Hier war etwas von dem Zeitstück nach dem sich diese Menschen sehnten: Kampf für die Menschenrechte, Auflehnung gegen die Staatswillkur, dazu echter dramatischer Schwung, echtes Theater! Staunend erlebte man wieder einmal, daß das echte Zeitstück an keinen Zeitgeist und keine Epoche gebunden ist.⁶

An understanding of the classics as topical plays not bound to a specific time but specifically relevant to any given time was one of the factors making them immune to any after-effects of use by the Nazis and ensuring a continuity unbroken by Nazi misappropriation. In protest against this misappropriation, precisely those aspects which had been understated or manipulated were now the subject of most emphasis. In reviewing Nathan der Weise at the Deutsches Theater Berlin in 1945 Paul Rilla wrote:

Niemals hat es einen blutigeren Hohn auf die Ideen des klassischen deutschen Jahrhunderts gegeben als die nationalsozialistische Praxis. Das Jahrhundert Lessings, Herders und Kants, das Jahrhundert Schillers und Goethes: niemals ist die historische Wahrheit so in ihr Gegenteil umlogten worden wie in der frechen Berufung des Nationalsozialismus gerade auf diese nationale Tradition. Und es kann in Deutschland keine radikale Absage an den Ungeist der Hitler-Zeit geben, die hier nicht anzuknüpfen hätte, die nicht Selbstbesinnung wäre auf den großen Gedanken der Humanität, der einmal, in einem höchsten geschichtlichen Augenblick, eine deutsche Botschaft an die Welt war.⁷

Apart from clearly defining the humanist contents of classic works as the most significant elements to be emphasized in post-war productions, Rilla also draws attention to the integrity and exemplary nature of the German classics. This integrity is an important feature because it offers scope for regaining lost values and lost national pride. From this, the step to understanding the classics as a key to German identity is very small.

The huge interest in classic works embraced all age-groups. Young people identified particularly with the youthful protests of Schiller - Kabale und Liebe figured prominently in the repertoires - but all generations were also curious to see those classic plays like Nathan which had been withheld from them, and authentic productions of those like Don Carlos which had been adapted to National Socialist requirements. First and foremost however, such renewed interest in authentic classical works was an expression of a longing for the integrity of "Humanität". Through the reactivation of untainted values in the humanism of the classics and their dedication to truth, identity might be affirmed anew. According to one commentator reviewing a production of Iphigenie auf Tauris in Würzburg, for example:

Die Gestalten und Schöpfungen der Goethezeit
gehören zu den großen, fernen Sternbildern,
die unserer Gegenwart den mühsamen Pfad finden
helfen, als Richtpunkte der Orientierung.⁸

Amongst the classic dramas it was indeed Iphigenie which came to epitomize the post-war search for identity. No other classic play with the exception of Nathan der Weise was produced so often in the first three seasons following the war. From Flensburg to Konstanz and from Berlin to Garmisch-Partenkirchen Goethe's 'Sieg der Menschlichkeit'⁹

was proclaimed in Land, state, chamber, municipal, and private theatres in all the Zones. Iphigenie had always been understood as the symbol for the humanist ideals of the late eighteenth century. Goethe's development of Euripides's drama transferred the conflicts presented to the field of ideas, and his concentration on the figure of Iphigenie as the pure priestess incapable of living an untruth characterized his work as 'das andere große Gedicht des klassischen deutschen Humanismus',¹⁰ besides Nathan. But apart from being a traditional literary figure symbolizing these values Iphigenie is also 'aus Tantalus Geschlecht'.¹¹ Her family has suffered terrible atrocities including the death of her father Agamemnon at her mother's hand and Orest's avenging murder of Klytämnestra. In 1945 such a fate had a more than superficial degree of relevance to the recent experiences of German audiences. Not only did the play seem to express truths about their own lives, Iphigenie also offered hope for the future:

Pylades: Die Götter rächen
Der Väter Missetat nicht an dem
 Sohn;
Ein jeglicher gut oder böse
 nimmt
Sich seinen Lohn mit seiner
 Tat hinweg.
Es erbt der Eltern Segen nicht
 ihr Fluch.¹²

The conclusion of the play reveals the truth of Pylades's words; an optimistic assurance for 1945 audiences.

More significant than the optimism of Goethe's drama is the fact that in his work the individual and fate achieve a harmonious synthesis through the medium of truth and humanity. Such a synthesis

through precisely these means is the objective of the search for identity in post-war Germany. This explains why Iphigenie to an even greater extent than Nathan became the major symbol of humanity and an indispensable feature of repertoires at the time.

Besides the humanist contents of both works there are many parallels between Iphigenie and Nathan which incidentally were also written concurrently. Iphigenie's response to Thoas's challenge:
Thoas:

Du glaubst es höre
Der rohe Scythe, der Barbar die
Stimme
Der Wahrheit und der Menschlich-
keit, die Atreus
Der Grieche nicht vernahm.

Iphigenie:

Es hört sie jeder
Geboren unter jedem Himmel, dem
Des Lebens Quelle durch den Busen
rein
Und ungehindert fließt¹³

is not only central to the humanity of the play but is the equivalent of Nathan's reply to the Tempelherr:

Nathan:

Ich weiß, wie gute Menschen denken;
weiß
Daß alle Länder gute Menschen
tragen.¹⁴

Furthermore, Iphigenie like Nathan is a play of words rather than actions; reasoned argument leads to changed opinions and generous deeds, not actions and events. Goethe himself remarked to Eckermann: 'Es ist reich an innerem Leben, aber arm an Äußerem. Daß aber das innere Leben hervorgekehrt wird, darin liegt's'.¹⁵

The latter consideration combined with the fact that in both plays the title figure bears most responsibility for unveiling the inner life

of the play, place exceptional demands on the understanding and ability of the actress or actor portraying the role. Once again to Eckermann Goethe remarked: 'Ich muß gestehen, es hat mir noch nie gelingen wollen, eine vollendete Aufführung meiner Iphigenie zu erleben'.¹⁶ In 1945 casting Iphigenie was even more difficult than casting Nathan. Nathan is a part for a mature actor who would have gained experience in the theatre even before 1933. There were actors like Paul Wegener in Germany in 1945 who combined integrity and ability and could thus credibly be chosen for the role. Iphigenie requires a young actress but with no less maturity, ability, and integrity. But being young meant that suitable actresses had inevitably done their training in the Nazi theatre which made their difficult task even harder. It is thus not surprising that, despite highly acclaimed performances such as those of Maria Pierenkämper in Darmstadt (1945/46), Maria Wimmer in Hamburg (1946/47) and Anna Dammann in Stuttgart (1947/48), even at major theatres weaknesses were often registered in the selection for the title role. An example was Lola Müthel's Iphigenie in Berlin in 1946/47 where her interpretation was damned in a contentious production directed by Willi Schmidt.¹⁷ Even Paul Rilla who was much less vicious in his comments than colleagues such as Fritz Erpenbeck noted: 'Eine Leistung des ehrgeizigen Bemühens, aber vom Inhalt der Iphigenie, von ihrem Sprach und Formzwang kaum berührt'.¹⁸

It was not only casting which proved a problem in 1945. Frequently the quality of the production caused commentators to draw a clear distinction between their assessment of the work, which they hallowed, and that of its realization on stage. This was the case in Bremen in 1946/47, for example, when Hans Tügel directed Iphigenie at the Künstlertheater, as well as in Berlin.¹⁹ Such a negative critical response

may in some cases have derived from unrealistic expectations. The awareness of the special role of the theatre and particularly the classics led to unreasonable demands on directors, actors and productions alike. Audiences by contrast were overwhelmed by Goethe's drama everywhere, although it is impossible to tell to what extent their reactions reflected specific productions. In Würzburg one critic noted: 'der herzliche Beifall des vollen Hauses kam aus spürbarer Ergriffenheit';²⁰ in Berlin Paul Wiegler claimed: 'Das Publikum folgt gesammelt und alles vergessend, was zwischen ihm und dem Kunstwerk lag',²¹ and in Bremen, too, one commentator concluded: 'Der ungeheure Jubel (...) war nicht nur Dank für die Wahl der Dichtung, nicht nur eine tiefe Besitzerfreude an Goethes Unvergänglichkeit (...) er war sehnsüchtige Bejahung der einenden Liebe'.²²

Goethe's Iphigenie and Lessing's Nathan were the principle guides in the post-war dedication to humanist ideals in the theatre. Through these ideals it was hoped that self-respect might be regained: after all, Goethe had claimed: 'Alle menschliche Gebrechen, Sühnet reine Menschlichkeit'.²³ Having looked briefly at Iphigenie I shall now examine in more detail Lessing's major contribution to the classical repertoire in post-war Germany through which many theatres declared their aims and many audiences expressed their approval of these aims: Nathan der Weise.

Lessing: Nathan der Weise

More theatres officially re-opened their doors with Nathan der Weise after the war than with any other play. Amongst them were Max Reinhardt's Deutsches Theater in Berlin, the Theater der Stadt Bonn, and the Staatstheater in Braunschweig. Many others included Nathan in their first post-war repertoires. From München and Regensburg to Bremen and Hamburg, from Düsseldorf and Wuppertal to Memmingen and Stuttgart, in all four Zones of Germany Lessing's "Dramatisches Gedicht" was being performed for the first time since the last production by the Staatstheater Berlin in 1931.¹ During the 1946/47 and 1947/48 seasons many more productions of Nathan followed while several of those mentioned above were carried over from one season to the next. The Deutsches Theater, for example, retained Nathan in its repertoire until the beginning of the Fifties.

Those theatres which chose to put on Nathan did so because it fulfilled their requirements of a major production. At the very beginning theatres which considered it their duty to educate their public according to the tradition of the "moralische Anstalt", elected to include the play in their repertoires. As will be seen presently, Nathan was originally conceived as a contribution to an on-going debate on religion, but it is rarely thought of in this context. Long before the period under discussion, it had become a symbol of religious and racial tolerance and humanity; in the words of Dr Hans Rempel in a contemporary article, the 'Verkünder der Idee der Menschlichkeit.'² It was for this reason that many theatre people chose Nathan in 1945: it symbolized the values they wished to convey to their audiences and, by extension, those which they wished to reject openly. As the critic Dr. W. Pollatschek noted: 'Wer heute den 'Nathan' spielt, legt ein Bekenntnis

ab: Bekenntnis gegen den Ungeist der 12 Jahre, Bekenntnis zur Menschlichkeit, Freiheit und Mut'.³

Nowhere is this intention more clearly expressed than in the programme notes to the Düsseldorf production of Nathan. In February 1946 Wolfgang Langhoff was "Intendant" of the Städtische Bühnen Düsseldorf and he directed or acted in a number of plays notable for their educational content or potential, plays as different as Robert Ardrey's Leuchtfeuer and Goethe's Iphigenie auf Tauris. Nathan der Weise was selected for the official re-opening of the theatre on 28 February 1946 under Langhoff's direction. The extensive programme notes include the following declaration of intention:

Mit der heutigen Aufführung des Nathan bekennen wir uns (...) zu dem starken und hoffnungsvollen Glauben Lessings, daß jedes Volk durch seine Besten wieder zu den wahren Quellen seiner Kultur geführt werden kann, und daß ein neues deutsches Haus auf den Grundpfeilern, die da heißen: Güte, Liebe, Besonnenheit, Vernunft und Humanität sicherer und dauerhafter aufgebaut wird als auf den so gepriesenen, verdammswerten "Tugenden" der verflossenen zwölf Jahre, die da heißen: Rassenhaß, Hochmut, Dünkel und Herrenwahn.⁴

This almost religious declaration clearly reveals the high degree of hope and trust placed in the theatre as the means of regaining moral values in Germany. Lessing, who himself had been so involved with the complex of the identity of the German nation, is evoked as the focus for regaining identity in post-fascist Germany by creating a new national state founded on his values. The trust vested in the theatre to achieve these aims placed a huge responsibility upon it and assumed it would be able to bear this responsibility. Since theatre, however, is not abstract, but like the church, is composed of its people,

it was Langhoff and his contemporaries who had to bear the ideological responsibility for selecting and purveying values in the post-war situation. Unlike many who emphasized the role of the theatre as a "moralische Anstalt" but seldom expressed any doubts about its qualifications (that is, their own qualifications) for this task, Langhoff did not assume that the theatre could adopt a guiding role without first serving its own apprenticeship to the ideals of humanity and tolerance. He places his trust not in himself and his associates but in the dramatists and works to be performed: in Lessing and Nathan. The programme notes read:

(...) wir deutschen Theaterleute (greifen)
nach dem fürchterlichen Zusammenbruch bei
unsern, ersten unsicheren Schritten im
Kampf um die geistige Erneuerung unserer
Bühne (...) nach der Hand Gotthold Ephraim
Lessings.⁵

In this respect Langhoff is acknowledging the authority of the classics in Germany, an authority offering support to theatre people in general and helping to qualify the uneasy position of emigrés like Langhoff himself. Despite the modesty expressed about the role of theatre people in this passage Langhoff fails to point out, that while they are not responsible for the values propagated by the plays performed, they are responsible for choosing them and are thus in a position of considerable influence, both as a result of this choice, and later by the individual interpretation of the dramatic works chosen.

From the language of the passage it can be seen that Langhoff considered his role to be that of a fighter for moral values, a position described by Dr Winrich Maiszies as being 'zwischen den beiden Polen von humanistischer Tradition und kämpferischer Einstellung zur Gegenwart'.⁶ The consequences of this attitude for Langhoff's interpretation of Nathan will be discussed in the context of the Düsseldorf production. Here

it is important to emphasize that the play was seen as a signpost along the path the theatre itself should take. Only a theatre of humanity and tolerance could engender humanity and tolerance as a focus for renewing national identity.

For "Intendanten" like Langhoff, however, Nathan served yet another important purpose: 'Mit der heutigen Aufführung verneigen wir uns erschüttert vor dem Judentum, dem die Nationalsozialisten so unsagbares, nie wieder gutzumachendes Leid zugefügt haben'.⁷ In this respect the choice of Nathan der Weise was an exercise in coming to terms with the immediate past. Not merely the portrayal of a Jew in a positive light but the portrayal of a Jew whose fate it had been to lose his wife and seven sons in a Christian pogrom, forced the audience to confront the practice, and results, of the persecution of the Jews under National Socialism. Nathan der Weise, following so shortly on general public awareness of the horrors of Auschwitz and Maidanek, can rarely have seemed so relevant as at early post-war performances. Nevertheless it is interesting to observe that in contemporary articles and reviews of Nathan the Jewish question is seldom touched on specifically at all - certainly not with the directness and humility of the Düsseldorf programme notes. Where the topic is discussed it usually refers not so much to its validity as a gesture towards the Jews but to the fact that Nathan should be of assistance to the Germans in overcoming this shameful feature of National Socialism. Herbert Jhering, for example, commented:

Heute aber hilft seine menschliche Gesinnung,
die Schamlosigkeit einer Rassenlehre abzutragen,
die uns weit hinter das achtzehnte Jahrhundert
und abergläubische Irrlehren des Mittelalters
zurückgeworfen hatte.⁸

It may have been felt that Nathan's experiences spoke so clearly for themselves that it was unnecessary to discuss the problem in reviews and articles. The lack of specific reference to the Jews, however, may also indicate a self-consciousness amongst commentators about tackling a topic that was so sensitive.

The very reasons which made Nathan der Weise an excellent choice for theatres in 1945 subsequently led to a glut of inadequate performances. Theatres began to see it as their duty to perform the play. This was partly the fault of critics who often noted in their articles that they had not yet been able to see Nathan at their theatres. The opening sentence of a review of the production in Frankfurt which opened in July 1947 runs: 'Ein wenig spät (...) begrüßen auch wir in dieser Stadt Lessings dramatisches Lehrgedicht'.⁹ The implication is clearly that a theatre is not fulfilling its role as a "moralische Anstalt" if Nathan is not included in the repertoire. But it would be misleading to place all the blame at the door of the critics. Theatre directors themselves often chose to perform Nathan simply because of its popularity elsewhere. Added to this, there was the kudos of producing plays which had been banned under Hitler. For such plays full houses were as good as guaranteed, while the theatres themselves gained a reputation for values which distanced them from National Socialism and projected their intentions in the best possible light.¹⁰ Since on top of this, the play is not especially difficult to cast, it was altogether an obvious choice. The consequence, in the words of Fritz Erpenbeck, was 'eine Hochflut durchaus nicht immer zulänglicher Aufführungen'.¹¹ A glance at some contemporary reviews would suggest that Erpenbeck - uncharacteristically - was understating the case.

One performance which was certainly not inadequate has been analyzed in some detail by Henning Rischbieter. In the first of a series of articles on post-war theatre in Theater heute he has reconstructed as far as possible from contemporary sources the Berlin production of September 1945. The series attempts to present 'eine Reihe von exemplarischen oder zumindest doch symptomatischen Inszenierungen'.¹² This is a problematic undertaking. Exemplary? Symptomatic? How can these criteria be squared with the selection of a performance in Berlin where nothing was (or is) typical? Perhaps the choice of the play Nathan was symptomatic of the times but it is difficult to see how the production should be exemplary or symptomatic in the context of Germany as a whole in 1945. At most these considerations might be related to the situation in Berlin. Indeed, as will gradually become clear, in the framework of productions in the Western Zones at the time, the Berlin production was anything but exemplary.

When choosing productions for analysis it is very tempting to select one from a Berlin stage. It is relatively easy to find material on the theatre in Berlin and correspondingly difficult to piece together productions in the Zones. There are straightforward explanations for this situation. More than in any other city or town reliable theatre critics had re-assembled in Berlin at the end of the war. Several have already been quoted and they certainly did not all share the same views on the theatre. What they did have in common was the mastery of their craft. Writers like Herbert Jhering, Paul Rilla, Walther Karsch, and Fritz Erpenbeck had all been acknowledged theatre critics before the National Socialist era and had been variously banned, tolerated or gone into exile. Few critics of similar stature were to be found outside Berlin in 1945. Erich Kästner and Alfred Dahlmann were in München

but otherwise the leading names were concentrated in the former capital. Apart from the critics, Berlin was full of famous names and big theatres which attracted interest and in consequence meant written documentation for posterity. It is of no surprise to anyone that Nathan der Weise at Max Reinhardts Deutsches Theater in Berlin is more thoroughly documented than Nathan der Weise at the Städtische Bühne Hagen.

Although the Berlin Nathan is so well documented, some space should be devoted to it here since both the production and Paul Wegener's Nathan became legendary, and because it serves as a touchstone for other productions from the same period.

Nathan der Weise was the first production of the 1945/46 season. At the gala premiere on 7 September 1945, which was attended by representatives of each of the Allied powers as well as German city dignitaries, the name of the theatre was changed from Deutsches Theater to Max Reinhardts Deutsches Theater in memory of the famous pre-1933 "Intendant". Everything about the performance was gala, too. The casting of the title role with the over 70 year-old Paul Wegener signals the quality of the production. Wegener was one of the few eminent actors of the pre-1933 and Nazi-era whose undoubted integrity during the previous twelve years made him a credible choice for the role in 1945. Apart from being an actor he also belonged, together with Johannes R. Becher and other leading left-wing intellectuals, to the founding committee of the "Kulturbund zur demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands" and was president of the "Kammer der Kuntschaffenden". The latter organization, which was recognized by the occupying powers, played an important role in post-war Berlin helping artists to find accommodation, advising on de-nazification and the allocation of theatre licences etc. An actor of

similar moral stature and age to Wegener, who had also remained in Hitler's Germany, was the portrayer of the Klosterbruder, Eduard von Winterstein. He was also very active in the re-birth of cultural life in Berlin, and like Wegener, was one of the grand old men of the German theatre. Gerda Müller, the Daja of the production, had been a well-known name before 1933, too, but had not acted during the intervening years. As well as a distinguished cast the play had a director of considerable standing: Fritz Wisten was an Austrian-Jewish actor/director, who after being forced to leave the theatre in Stuttgart in 1933, had worked with the Theater des Jüdischen Kulturbundes (the only theatre to put on Nathan after the seizure of power by Hitler) in Berlin until it was finally closed down in 1941. Wisten was interned in a concentration camp but survived. He was not the only person involved in the 1945 production to have suffered at the hands of the Nazis. A colleague at the Theater des Jüdischen Kulturbundes, Alfred Balthoff, could be seen in the role of the Derwisch.

Such experiences might well have influenced the interpretation of the play. It is all the more remarkable therefore, that the production was generally characterized by the critics as 'ein orientalisches Märchen'.¹³ The critic Paul Wiegler noted: 'Fritz Wisten (...) hat die Welt der Tausendundeinen Nacht vorgeschwebt'.¹⁴ There was not, as there might have been, any angry abuse or tendency to make the audience feel guilty; quite the contrary. Henning Rischbieter concludes that there were several reasons for the fairy-tale interpretation of Nathan. His analysis is worth quoting at length. He begins by citing the character and artistic conception of the director:

Wisten war, so seine eigene Einschätzung, ein komödiantischer Regisseur (...) Verschärfung, Racheklage, Provokation war nicht seine Sache (...) Dann: der auf festliche Repräsentation, Feier gerichtete Rahmen der Premiere. Die Anknüpfung an die Reinhardt-Tradition, (illusionärer?) Brückenschlag über die Nazi-Jahre hinweg in eine bessere, zumindest aber glänzende Theater-Vergangenheit, imgrunde die das ((sic)) bourgeoisen Schau-theaters noch weiter zurück vor dem ersten der Weltkriege. Aber auch: Das Aufatmen der Davongekommenen, der Versuch, dem Zwang, Druck, der Not der Nazizeit, auch dem Fanatismus der Nazis etwas Helles, Heiteres, Gelöstes, Spielerisches folgen zu lassen.¹⁵

Rischbieter's first two points concerning Fritz Wisten and the gala performance speak for themselves, while the idea of linking up with the Reinhardt-tradition may be discerned not only in the re-naming of the theatre but also in the values for which Nathan stands: after all, Reinhardt himself had directed an Arabian Nights in London in 1911 and his own style of production was flamboyant and celebratory. His audiences were the educated middle-classes whose wealth was frequently based on the mercantile qualities also possessed by the trader Nathan, who is not only wise and sympathetic but also an astute and successful merchant. Whether the choice of a fairy-tale interpretation emphasizes the idea of linking-up with the past is open to debate. It certainly is a suitable medium for expressing the sense of relief and playfulness Rischbieter assumes to have been present in Wisten's production.

On this view, the choice of Nathan, especially a fairy-tale Nathan, would amount to a flight from the present into the past: the classics as a non-political solution to current dilemmas. The play was not conceived in this way nor was it thought of as such by men like Langhoff, as has already been noted. It is certainly true, that by

comparison with some other productions, Wisten's was more fanciful, concentrating less on the power of the spoken word. Of course, audiences might seek consolation rather than political solutions in the familiarity of the classics. But these are differences in degree: even a fairy-tale Nathan is a contribution to the moral regeneration of the nation.

Henning Rischbieter's analysis is not only interesting in itself but useful when considering other interpretations of Nathan from the same period. Did other theatres adopt a similar fairy-tale atmosphere in their productions? Did they aim at reconciliation or provocation? Did their interpretations emphasize or detract from the themes of religious and racial tolerance and humanity? Where appropriate, reference will be made to the Berlin production, but before scrutinizing other productions it is important to devote some time to the play itself.

Nathan der Weise was written by Lessing in 1779 as a camouflaged continuation of the religious debate engendered by his publication of the Reimarus-Fragmente.¹⁶ On 6 September 1778 he wrote in Elise Reimarus: 'Ich muß versuchen, ob man mich auf meiner alten Kanzel, auf dem Theater, wenigstens noch ungestört will predigen lassen'.¹⁷ Lessing thought that intolerance was threatening to thwart the intellectual development of the German nation and he was determined to counter these trends. Hence Nathan der Weise.

Lessing set his play in Jerusalem at the time of the crusades. While a number of the events and characters are based on actual events and characters, Lessing was not interested in writing an historical drama. In an early draft of the play he noted:

In dem Historischen, was in dem Stücke zugrunde liegt, habe ich mich über alle Chronologie hinweg gesetzt; ich habe sogar mit in den einzelnen Namen eingeschaltet. Meine Anspielungen auf wirkliche Begebenheiten sollen bloß den Gang meines Stückes motivieren.¹⁸

It is of no particular interest to this discussion to list who or what actually existed or happened; it is important, however, to note that the setting - the holy city of Jerusalem - was a focal point for each of the religions featured in the play and thus provided an ideal background for a discussion on the relative value of Christianity, Islam and Judaism. By setting the play at the time of the crusades - the religious wars in which the Christians sought to liberate Palestine from the Moslems - precisely at the moment when the Sultan Saladin was ruler in Jerusalem, where many Jews lived, Lessing created an all-embracing framework for his ideas.

At the beginning we are presented with "Wirklichkeit" - the world as it is - in which none of the three main constellations of characters (Nathan and Recha, Saladin and Sittah, the Tempelherr), and implicitly of ideas, has any contact with the others. At the end of the play these characters have become one family: people and ideas are reconciled and can live together in understanding - not in "Wirklichkeit" but in "Natürlichkeit", Lessing's vision of the world as it should and could be.¹⁹ The essential characteristic of this process is that it unfolds not as a result of events but as a result of discourse. The important events of the play take place before it begins and are mere catalysts for the coming together of the three differing streams of thought so that they may then progress to understanding through discussion. Thus the audience experiences the dramatic conflicts of the play as an account, not through their presentation.

Before the play begins the Tempelherr saves the Jewish-girl Recha from the fire but this in itself does not lead to understanding between Christian and Jew. The latter is a consequence of the Tempelherr's talk to Nathan in Act II, Sc. 5. Initially the Tempelherr explains that his heroic act was no more than an automatic reaction, and reveals at the same time his contempt for the Jews:

Tempelherr: Es ist der Tempelherren Pflicht, dem ersten,
 Dem besten beizuspringen, dessen Not
 Sie sehn. Mein Leben war mir ohnedem
 In diesem Augenblicke lästig. Gern,
 Sehr gern ergriff ich die Gelegenheit,
 Es für ein andres Leben in die Schanze
 Zu schlagen: für ein andres - wenn's auch nur
 Das Leben einer Jüdin wäre.²⁰

By means of reasoned argument Nathan is able to convince the Tempelherr of his worth,²¹ proving to him that he understands his actions and behaviour.

In the following, frequently cited quotation he explains:

Nathan: Ich weiß, wie gute Menschen denken, weiß
 Daß alle Länder gute Menschen tragen.²²

Nathan's plea for understanding between people of all religious and national differences reaches a climax when he finally manages to convince the Tempelherr that they should become friends:

Nathan: Sind Christ und Jude eher Christ und Jude,
 Als Mensch? Ah! wenn ich einen mehr in Euch
 Gefunden hätte, dem es gnügt, ein Mensch
 Zu heißen!

Tempelherr: Ja, bei Gott, das habt Ihr, Nathan!
 Das habt Ihr!²³

Similarly, the catalyst for the contact between Christian and Moslem - Saladin's pardoning the Tempelherr and saving him from execution - does not in itself lead to a relationship or understanding between them. This only ensues from their discussions together later in the play. Saladin himself is not actually characterized by personal prejudice against

Christians or Jews. His motive for executing Christians is that they are his enemies in war; the animosity is between the two religious groups. Yet he, too, is made more tolerant of religious and national differences in the course of discussions with the Tempelherr:

Saladin: Als Christ, als Muselmann: gleich viel!
 Im weißen Mantel, oder Jamerlonk;
 Im Tulban, oder deinem Filze: wie
 Du willst! Gleich viel! Ich habe nie verlangt,
 Daß allen Bäumen eine Rinde wachse.²⁴

The Tempelherr's attitude to Saladin is determined by the fact that he is beholden to him for his life although personal contact with Saladin leads to genuine admiration for the Sultan.

The Moslem Saladin also develops and progresses through his confrontation with the Jew Nathan. Once again the element of plot merely serves to bring the two men together, to make them talk: Saladin needs money and does not know where to get it from. It occurs to his sister Sittah that they might trick Nathan into lending them what they need by challenging him to judge which is the true religion - Christianity, Islam or Judaism. Nathan, who had been prepared for a request for money, is somewhat dumbfounded by a demand for truth. He senses the possibility of a trick, since the lack of a personal relationship with Saladin makes the likelihood of his genuinely wanting a convincing answer very small. The need for caution and a plausible answer lead to the narration of the "Ringparabel".

Lessing develops the scene between Nathan and Saladin, strategically placed at the centre of the overall structure of the play so that it is as a result of the discourse ensuing from the narration of the parable, and not through the parable alone that the two men become friends. Nathan manages to persuade the Sultan that it is history and tradition and,

to a certain extent, coincidence which determine a man's religion and not the unchallengeable truth of that religion. ~

Nathan: Wie kann ich meinen Vätern weniger
 Als du den deinen glauben? Oder
 umgekehrt. -
 Kann ich von dir verlangen, daß du deine
 Vorfahren Lügen strafst, um meinen nicht
 Zu widersprechen? Oder umgekehrt.
 Das nämliche gilt von den Christen ...²⁵

The declaration of the judge in Lessing's continuation of the parable makes it the duty of each son/ring/religion to prove itself and to demonstrate the truth. The understanding between Moslem and Jew is cemented, the message of tolerance central to the play reaches its zenith:

Nathan: Es eifre jeder seiner unbestochnen
 Von Vorurteilen freien Liebe nach!
 Es strebe von euch jeder um die Wette,
 Die Kraft des Steins in seinem Ring' an Tag
 Zu legen!²⁶

The message of the "Ringparabel" was as relevant in 1945 as at the time Lessing wrote it. It was thus not only the innate structure of the play which led to an emphasis being placed on the parable in post-war productions. Directors specifically chose to highlight its relevance.

In his review of the 1945/46 production of Nathan at the Bayerisches Staatsschauspiel in München, for example, Alfred Dahlmann noted:

'Höhepunkt des Abends: Renars (Nathans) Hinwendung in der Ring-Parabel an uns, an das Publikum'.²⁷ By appealing directly to his audience

Arnulf Schröder, the director of the München production, clearly emphasized the parable and the message of tolerance it conveys. The interpretation of the play as a whole was very different from that of Fritz Wisten in Berlin. Dahlmann, in a passage which sounds as though he were actually comparing the two productions, notes:

Märchen aus dem Orient, neuromantisches
Tausendundeinenacht, Ideenpredigt mit
abschließender allseitiger Umarmung?
Nein. Was sich hier in Arnulf Schröders
sehr intensiver Inszenierung begibt,
steht auf dem Weg zum asketischen Theater
des dichterischen Wortes (...) Hier
gilt nur eines: der Dichter, das Wort.²⁸

This comment suggests that Schröder's interpretation was much more closely related to Karl Kraus's ideas on theatre than to the Reinhardt-tradition revitalized in Berlin. Kraus had rejected Reinhardt for the "Veräußerlichung" of his productions, the fact that, in his opinion, the decor and framework distracted attention from the words being spoken on stage.²⁹ In München it was precisely this aspect - the writer's words - which was emphasized, while in Berlin the failure to do so had provided the only serious grounds for criticism of the production. Critics as ideologically far apart as Paul Rilla and Walther Karsch both thought that Wisten's fairy-tale interpretation of the play blurred its message. According to Karsch: 'So schenkt er zwar dem untheatralischen Stück die Elemente des Theatralischen, doch verliert dabei das Hohe Lied von der Humanität seine geistige Größe, bleibt Spiel im Spiel...'³⁰ and Paul Rilla maintained that 'die dialogische Führung mitunter jene Gespanntheit, jene stichwortartige Knappheit und Geistesgegenwärtigkeit des Einsatzes vermissen läßt, worauf das besondere Lessingsche Element beruht'.³¹ Both Rilla and Karsch would have been much more in agreement with Schröder's production which was indeed closer to the idea of discourse, rather than presentation, concentrating on the spoken word as the essence of the dramatic interpretation. A production of this kind, in which so much emphasis is placed on the word is extremely ambitious for it relies heavily on the individual abilities of the actors. There is nothing to attract the audience's attention away from a less than first-class performance. In Berlin, where a revolving stage was used, there was constant activity on stage and considerable emphasis was laid on

scenic detail.³² Not so in München. To quote Dahlmann once again:
'Vergeistigung. Abstraktion als Wesen von Stück und Inszenierung'.³³

One actor was certainly able to meet the challenge posed by this interpretation: Hellmuth Renar, who played Nathan. He received the highest accolade from Dahlmann in contrast to Curd Jürgens in the role of Tempelherr:

Stattlich anzuschauen, jugendlich, mehr Recke als
Ritter; auch Lessing will zwar den 'deutschen
Bär', aber erfüllt und nicht leer, Repräsentant aus
geistig-weltanschaulichem Bereich, Ideenträger.³⁴

Here Jürgens can be seen experiencing the same problems as Lola Müthel in Iphigenie in Berlin. The demands of this particular type of production have already been described, but apart from this, young actors suffered from having learnt their craft under National Socialism. The monumental style encouraged by the Nazi theatre left its mark not only on directors but on actors too, especially those who had known no other influences. On top of this, plays like Nathan der Weise were as unfamiliar to the young actors on stage as they were to the young spectators in the audience. Hence the demands of such plays were as yet unclear to them. In many cases they were in the curiously ironic situation of being experienced actors who had to start learning their craft all over again. Such considerations help to explain the frequency of comments like "leer" in contemporary reviews, particularly with regard to the young actors.

In the München Nathan there was one deviation from the ascetic concept of the production: the stage-set. Considerable amounts of 'Gittern aus Gold und Polstern aus aufdringlicherdbeerrotem Plüsch'³⁵ decorated the stage which, from all that has been described so far, must have seemed totally misplaced. In a production which emphasized so strongly the ideas of the play, it was obviously incongruous to place it in a framework which might distract the audience's attention from the dialogue. Such relics from another epoch suggest an

unwillingness or lack of confidence on the part of the director to be as sparing in the setting as in the language. But perhaps it was also a symptom of the times. So few props were still available that directors may have felt obliged to make use of those that were. In the overall appreciation of the production however, this was but a minor criticism³⁶. What the München production did achieve was to stress the fact that the play 'ist zeitlos und darum zeitnah'³⁷ or, to turn once again to Alfred Dahlmann: 'Dieser gereinigte 'Nathan' wirkt nicht nur retrospektiv. Er steht in der heute erschütternd verdichteten Gegenwartigkeit seines großen Grundproblems auf dem modernen Spielplan mit obenan'.³⁸ The sense of a timeless quality and of the importance and validity of Lessing's ideas for all times, but especially for the present, were central characteristics of a number of productions. They reflect a feeling of security and belief in Lessing: whatever has happened during twelve years of National Socialism, Lessing has retained his validity, and with it, continuity can be sustained. These aspects are now of paramount importance in the re-establishing of national German identity, and from this sprang the necessity to produce Nathan in as pure a form as possible - ascetically. Not only the purity and integrity of the ideas but that of the language should be emphasized, too. This was not the case in München alone; it can be claimed about the Hamburg production as well.

Nathan der Weise featured in the repertoire of the Deutsches Schauspielhaus in the 1945/46 season. It opened at the Eppendorfer Gemeindehaus on 21 November 1945. René Drommert, who was present on the first night, noted:

Der Spielleiter Hellmuth Gmelin enthält sich in einer Askese, die der Kunst so förderlich ist, aller 'Einfälle' und Effekte.(...) Besonnenheit und Bescheidenheit, ohne die unser Theater heute keinen Schritt weiterkommen kann, sie adeln die jüngste Inszenierung unserer Schauspielbühnen.³⁹

Like his colleagues in München, Drommert approved of this unaffected interpretation while remarking that Gmelin had chosen rather too minor a key: 'die Regie (verfährt) um einiges zu düster, die Heiterkeit des Herzens (erscheint) ein wenig gedämpft'.⁴⁰ Undoubtedly this was a danger for productions of this kind since the idea on which they were based excluded explicit visual effects which might prove distracting. Finding the balance between lightness on the one hand, and the serious intentions of the play on the other, was a challenge to every director. Gmelin tended to over-emphasize the latter.

The contrast between the two productions described here and the Berlin production barely requires comment: not a trace of 1001 Nights, but a clear emphasis on the spoken word. Indeed, on closer scrutiny of other productions, it becomes ever more difficult to find evidence for Henning Rischbieter's inclusion of the Berlin Nathan in a category covering exemplary or symptomatic productions. The fairy-tale Nathan emerges as the exception and not the rule.

It is, of course, undeniable that Lessing's setting of Nathan invites allusions to the Tales of the Arabian Nights. Such allusions were also made about Wolfgang Langhoff's production in Düsseldorf, which opened on 28 February 1946, especially with regard to the stage-set and the costumes. One commentator noted:

Adolf Uzarskis Bühnenbild arbeitet mit zweckmäßig stilisierenden, andeutenden Formen vor dem Hintergrund der Stadtansicht Jerusalems. Von der Welt des orientalischen Märchens angeregte Kostüme unterstreichen noch die Gesamtlinie der Inszenierung.⁴¹

This final comment implies an emphasis on the fairy-tale aspect of the play which, initially, seems quite out of keeping with Langhoff's understanding of Nathan as revealed in the declaration of intention quoted earlier. Much more in line would appear to be the assessment of the critic in Freiheit who claimed that the emphasis of the production was unmistakably placed on the spoken word: 'Das Wort Lessings kam auch in der Darstellung und in der Gesamtregie voll zu seinem Recht'.⁴² While it should not be forgotten that any two people watching the same performance can perceive it quite differently - and this would certainly seem to be a case in point - Langhoff's interpretation emerges as rather more subtle and thus more difficult to define than the others presented so far. Langhoff managed to strike the balance between lightness and the serious intentions of the play, a balance reflecting his political position between a humanist tradition and a militant attitude towards the present.⁴³ He succeeded in imbuing Lessing's play of ideas with harmony and an informality of presentation which banished any suggestion of declamatory rhetoric. To one critic such informality seemed to remove the language of the play to so intimate a sphere that it became the 'Träger der Empfindungswelt der Gestalten, nicht mehr (...) ihrer Gedankenwelt, um die es Lessing geht'.⁴⁴ Langhoff's own declared intentions, as well as the assessments of other critics, suggest that this commentator

was pursuing a particular theory of his own, especially as, in his report on the achievements of the actors, he noted about Hermann Weiße as Nathan: 'Die Parabel von den Ringen gerät ihm, ganz einfach und gelassen erzählt, zu einer reinen Wirkung'.⁴⁵ Weiße received praise from all sides. A further example of differing assessments, however, is provided by Otto Collin's portrayal of Saladin. To one critic he appeared 'zu jugendlich, zu feurig',⁴⁶ while to another he seemed 'jugendlich anmutig, sehr geschmackvoll und gewandt'.⁴⁷ Unanimity was expressed with regard to the female roles with particular praise being lavished on Recha: 'Als feine, empfindungsvoll schattierende, und vor allem dramatische Sprecherin erwies sich Edith Teichmann als Recha'.⁴⁸ They were also agreed that Walter Faust's Tempelherr was rather too formal despite his youthfulness which put him at odds with the overall tenor of the production. As a young actor Faust was presumably suffering from the same difficulties as other young actors already diagnosed in various productions.

More than at any other time the decision to present Nathan der Weise in the immediate post-war period was a declaration of support for the ideals of humanity and tolerance it symbolized. Initially, at least, confronting Nathan meant confronting the immediate past with its most shameful components, meant attempting to come to terms with that past. Not every contemporary writer was as emotive as Herbert Jhering but the sentiments expressed in the following quotation were typical for the hope and trust the theatre placed in Lessing and Nathan in 1945:

Sein Geist ist heute nicht das Licht des beginnenden Morgens, sondern die Fackel, die die Finsternis zerteilt, nicht der junge, sich erhebende Tag, sondern der Scheiterhaufen, der den Unrat verbrennt, nicht der Sonnenaufgang, sondern der Feuerstoß, der uns voranleuchtet und auf den wir zuwandern. Uns aber ist aufgetragen, mit Lessings Klarheit das ganze Volk zu erhellen, Lessings Gesinnung, seine Menschlichkeit verpflichtend zumachen, bis aus Fackel, Scheiterhaufen und Feuerstoß doch wieder das Leuchten eines jungen, strahlenden Tages und aus dem stöhnenden Geist Hoffnung und Ermutigung geworden sind.⁴⁹

Confrontation with the immediate past and dedication to tolerance and humanist values are one means through which the individual can regain some sense of identity, and through which many individuals can regain a national identity. Like Goethe, Lessing offers hope that this can be achieved: through discourse. By talking to others the individual is forced to examine and consciously decide to change his beliefs. These ideas are central to the German classics and at the heart of post-war intentions. But they have a literary successor, too, in the Existentialist theatre. In the light of this relationship it is not surprising that Existentialism, as has been seen in the case of Leuchtfeuer, should have come to play such an important role in German thinking after the war. As the discussion of the successes from abroad has shown, Existentialist works already began to be of significance in the period covered by this study.

New German Drama

Es waren unter den Autoren der Kriegszeit bereits solche, die in die Zukunft wiesen, hinaus über trennende Parteiung. Aber wir hoffen, die Schubladen derer, die warten und schweigen mußten, öffnen sich und quellen über, und die Propheten, die wir jetzt bedürfen, steigen aus den Katakomben, in die sich die Wahrheit und die Hoffnung geflüchtet hatten.¹

The hopes articulated here by one commentator immediately after the war - the "Intendant" of the Züricher Schauspielhaus Oskar Wälterlin - express the expectations of many at the time. As ever more writers and intellectuals had emigrated after 1933 and ever more were silenced by Hitler's regime, it was gradually assumed that a significant number were continuing to write and produce works clandestinely which would help to create a new Germany once National Socialism had been defeated. These works would emerge from their desk drawers.

The passage quoted is, however, also of interest because it touches on some themes important to this investigation. The first is the idea of continuity expressed in Wälterlin's reference to works written during the war but relevant to the future. A break in continuity, because of its close relationship to identity, is something threatening and must therefore be avoided, if only by ensuring the existence of a few thin strands connecting the present to the future. Secondly, Wälterlin refers to writers as prophets, a concept also linked to continuity since the writer as prophet is an idea firmly established in German literary history from Hölderlin to Stefan George. But it is the fact that the writer is expected to be a prophet which is particularly significant. He is supposed to be a guide and mentor determining the path to be followed, a purveyor of hope and, of course, truth. In the theatre this places him firmly in the tradition of the "Schaubühne als eine moralische Anstalt".

Such expectations both presuppose extremely high standards and place a huge responsibility on the writer. In the post-war period expectations were retrospectively exaggerated too, since many people assumed the aftermath of the Second World War would bring forth the number and quality of dramatic works which had ensued from the First World War, when Expressionism had become the dominant artistic movement. But Expressionism flourished in the revolutionary atmosphere which led to the founding of the Weimar Republic, in the movements for change from within the country, and in the freedom and euphoria of a newly-created state. The atmosphere in 1945 was one of defeat and exhaustion and the political situation a vacuum. Comparable political groupings did exist but they had no power, no freedom and the fate of the country was not in their hands but in those of the Allies. These were not fruitful conditions for the emergence of an exciting new artistic movement, but the expectations remained nevertheless.

It is important to bear these expectations in mind when considering the field of new German drama during this period especially as they relate directly to an opinion formulated after 1945 which now emerges as one of the myths of the time: 'Zu Beginn sei gesagt, daß sich die Hoffnung auf die "geheime Schreibtischschubladenproduktion" der deutschen Dramatiker während der Nazi-Zeit als absolut trügerisch erwies'.² This was the formulation of Falk Harnack but any number of other commentators might be quoted expressing the same opinion.³ They were wrong. The desk drawers were not empty, but they were not overflowing with plays which could even attempt to fulfil the demanding expectations described above. In his report on the situation at the Deutsches Schauspielhaus Hamburg in 1948 for example, the "Dramaturg" G.O. Leutner noted:

Zur Frage der zeitgenössischen deutschen Autoren muß folgendes gesagt werden. Es ist zwar unrichtig zu behaupten, daß "die Schubladen leer" seien. Es wäre dem unbelasteten Kritiker an einem Spielplan, der nach seiner Meinung zu wenig junge deutsche Autoren zu Wort kommen läßt, zu raten, sich einmal durch den Wust der anfallenden Manuskripte durchzuarbeiten, (...) aber der weitaus größte Teil genügt nicht den primitivsten dramaturgischen Anforderungen; von den Unmengen absolut wertloser Elaborate ganz zu schweigen.⁴

Although Leutner is clearly on the defensive - the Deutsches Schauspielhaus being precisely one of the theatres accused of not taking sufficient account of young German authors - his argument must be allowed to stand. He was a "Dramaturg", it was part of his job and even ambition to find good new plays for performance; other theatre practitioners came to the same conclusion.

In May 1947 Fritz Erpenbeck reported that he had read at least one hundred manuscripts of plays by young German authors most of which showed no talent at all. About fifty were in various kinds of verse, the rest were in prose and overwhelmingly boring. Thematically they fell into the following categories: ca. ten escapist plays, a few thrillers and romances, a couple of Utopian dramas, a handful of would-be historical dramas with contemporary parallels, and a mass of topical plays. The final category was composed of '50% Rückkehrer-thematik, 50% Antikriegsstücke, Evakuiertenleid, Widerstand'.⁵ His conclusion, too, was that plays had been and were being written but they were simply not good enough to produce. This problem was compounded by the fact that a considerable proportion of the plays submitted to theatres dealing with war experiences or the return to Germany were so private in nature as to be totally unsuitable for public performance. In Gießen Professor Hans Knudsen noted:

... bei allem Respekt vor dem Leid, der inneren Not, der Bedrücktheit, die sich diese Autoren von der Seele schreiben wollen. Aber sie bleiben "privat", sie kommen nicht zu einer allgemein gültigen Gestaltung.⁶

Even in respect of those few works which did fulfil enough dramaturgical requirements to be produced, critical reaction was often one of disappointment. This was certainly due to the fact that expectations were unrealistically high and far too specific. If you seek the works of the prophets even plays like Weisenborn's Die Illegalen prove inadequate. In an analysis of the belief in the absence of good quality drama from the desk drawers, Wolfgang Petzet defines not only the pre-conditions for such drama to have been written but also the type of drama which German commentators were expecting:

Sollte also überhaupt eine volle Schublade gefunden werden, mußte folgender Glücksfall eintreten: ein deutscher Mann oder eine deutsche Frau mußten sich sittlich und geistig als immun gegen alle Drohungen, Verlockungen und Überredungskünste des Regimes erweisen; sie durften aber nicht emigrieren und doch auch im Lande nicht in den seelischen und körperlichen Wurzeln versehrt werden; sie mußten dabei nicht nur ethisch unanfechtbar, sondern auch künstlerisch sensibel und hochbegabt sein; aber diese Begabung durfte nicht auf dem Gebiete des Volksstückes, des Lustspieles oder der Gesellschaftskomödie liegen und sich auf ihm in zulässiger Weise Genüge tun, sondern sie mußte insbesondere auf die Gestaltung der religiösen, ethischen, sozialen, politischen Zeitprobleme zielen...⁷

Despite the somewhat facetious tone of Petzet's argument it should not be assumed that he took the question of new German drama lightly as will be seen presently. He merely wished to place the question in a realistic perspective.

It is impossible to speculate on the quality of the many manuscripts received by publishers and theatres at the time. From the various discussions of the topic it can be assumed that there was an unwillingness to take risks with modern drama - whether that emerging from the desk drawers or that written in the first post-war years. It was not unwillingness on principle but a function of a search for plays fulfilling the demands of the "moralische Anstalt" as it was understood in the mid-1940s. Such works are not so numerous at any period especially as the particular educational role demanded of works for the theatre ('die Propheten, die wir jetzt bedürfen'⁸) presupposes a work of exceptional quality. Significantly, out of the many hundreds of plays written, only one really possessed this touch of genius although even this play, Wolfgang Borchert's Draußen vor der Tür, did not contribute to planning a path for the future and was inherently sceptical about the words of the prophets.

In this context it is worth noting that the awareness of the educational role of drama in the theatre led to a greater degree of discrimination with regard to new plays than to other written art forms, so that it was harder for new dramatists to get their work published than other authors. After visiting German publishing houses in 1948, for example, a group of American book publishers reported:

...the best of the new German houses are willing to publish these beginning novelette and novel and non-fiction writers even when the work is not, in their editorial opinion, as good as that of authors they might secure from abroad in translation.⁹

Even in the case of Draußen vor der Tür Ida Ehre notes in her autobiography that she had to persuade the publisher Ernst Rowohlt to found a new drama section in his publishing house in order to get the play published to coincide with the world premiere.¹⁰ Clearly publishers of other books were prepared to be less rigorous and more encouraging than many theatre people.

Apart from this, the passage quoted from the American report highlights the question of the role of foreign works. This role has already been discussed both in the light of the policies of the occupying powers and those of "Intendanten" at various types of theatre. What is implied here, and there is some evidence to support the point, is that foreign works discouraged writers in Germany. According to Friedrich Luft, the flood of foreign plays intimidated potential German authors, especially the younger ones.¹¹ This was a grave situation not only from the point of view of a living and developing indigenous theatre culture, but in particular in relation to the special function of the theatre within the cultural spectrum. Once again it is identity which is at issue and the search for the objects of identification. However interesting, uplifting, renewing, or challenging foreign plays might be, they could not be the objects of re-establishing identity in post-war Germany. As has been seen, the German classics played the foremost role in this search but much hope was placed in new German drama too; the continued priority accorded to foreign works by many theatres gained a threatening aspect. The problem was exacerbated by the lack of quality of a good deal of the second generation of foreign plays so that in the Deutsches Bühnen-Jahrbuch 1949

Hugo Gau-Hamm, actor and "Beauftragter für Sonderfragen des Präsidiums der Genossenschaft deutscher Bühnen-Angehörigen", felt moved to make the following plea:

Nun aber muß energisch auf die dringende
Notwendigkeit hingewiesen werden, begabten
jungen deutschen Autoren den Weg zu ebnen
und ihnen nicht jeden Mut zur Weiterarbeit
zu nehmen durch eine bedenkenlose und nicht zu
rechtfertigende Bevorzugung solcher ausländischer
Bühnenwerke, die uns nichts zu sagen vermögen.¹²

One organ which did make it a particular priority to encourage modern German drama was the periodical Die Bühnenkritik which presented reviews and editorial comment. It included a section entitled "... aus der Schreibtischschublade" in every issue introducing young and unknown authors and their works to their trade readership. In 1948 this same periodical published an article by the "Dramaturg" Wolfgang Petzet on the results of the "Münchener Preisausschreiben". This was a competition run by the Städtische Bühnen München in 1947 offering prizes of RM 5 000 and RM 2 000 for the best unperformed plays 'die außer ihrem dichterischen und dramatischen Wert und ihrer Bühnenwirksamkeit "zu den Lebensproblemen der Gegenwart Wesentliches zu sagen haben"¹³. Altogether 350 plays were entered and three eventually shared the prizes since 'keines den Preisrichtern das gegenwärtige dramatische Schaffen in dem Maße zu überragen schien, daß sich eine Bevorzugung durch die ausschließliche Preiszuteilung rechtfertigen ließ'.¹⁴ This is very circumspect praise especially in view of the fact that the very object of the competition was to discover good new works, and reveals once again the standards demanded by the theatre. It is worth noting that the plays could be divided into nine major categories of which the sixth was the strongest numerically:

- 1) Anti-Nazi-Stücke; 2) Anti-Kriegs-Stücke; 3) Gefangenen-Stücke;
- 4) Soziale Reformstücke; 5) Nachkriegs-Stücke; 6) Heimkehrer-Stücke;
- 7) Jugend-Stücke; 8) Flüchtlings-Stücke; 9) Atombomben-Stücke.¹⁵

Bearing in mind that in Erpenbeck's list "Heimkehrer-Stücke" were also the most frequent category it is not surprising that it was in this form that the play finally emerged which did satisfy and even surpass the expectations for new German drama: Wolfgang Borchert's Draußen vor der Tür.

The play, originally broadcast on radio on 13 February 1947, was subsequently re-worked by Borchert during that year and first produced at the Hamburger Kammerspiele on 21 November 1947 directed by Wolfgang Liebeneiner. Two years later Liebeneiner turned the play into the film Liebe 47. The role of Beckmann was played both on radio and in the Hamburg production by the young actor Hans Quest to whom Borchert dedicated his work. Quest's interpretation of Beckmann was so definitive that he is associated with the role to this day. Borchert himself died at the age of twenty-six, one day before the Hamburg premiere.

Borchert's 'Stück, das kein Theater spielen und kein Publikum sehen will' (his bitter and inaccurate sub-title) soon became a symbol for the fate of a whole generation and was performed throughout the Western Zones. In his epilogue to Draußen vor der Tür Heinrich Böll wrote of Borchert:

Er zählt zu den Opfern des Krieges, es war ihm über die Schwelle des Krieges hinaus nur eine kurze Frist gegeben, um den Überlebenden, die sich mit der Patina geschichtlicher Wohlgefälligkeit umkleideten, zu sagen, was die Toten des Krieges, zu denen er gehört, nicht mehr sagen konnten: daß ihre Trägheit, ihre Gelassenheit, ihre Weisheit, daß alle ihre glatten Worte die schlimmsten ihrer Lügen sind.¹⁶

These sentiments are expressed most clearly in Beckmann's confrontation with the "Oberst" in Scene 3 and in the dream sequence with his optimistic alter ego "der Andere" in the final scene. And it is here that Borchert's outcry against the indifference of those who should be bearing the responsibility for the war and its consequences is most strongly and poetically voiced. Furthermore, it is a protest against the generation of fathers who have transferred responsibility and guilt onto the sons and have thus betrayed them. The "Oberst" is a father; the "Direktor" is a father figure. Beckmann's own father has bowed out of his responsibility by committing suicide; 'War' ein bißchen sehr aktiv, ihr alter Herr. Hat sich reichlich verausgabt bei den Nazis'.¹⁷ Even God the father is an old man in whom no-one believes and who is powerless to change anything.

Although the catalyst is different, the constellation father-son conflict is reminiscent of one of the major themes of the Expressionist writers thirty years previously, and it is worth noting that this reactivation of Expressionist contents has a parallel in the form chosen to communicate these contents since Borchert wrote his play in the Expressionist mode. Günther Rühle draws an interesting parallel between Draußen vor der Tür, written in 1946, and Toller's Die Wandlung of 1918.¹⁸ The situations of the heroes Beckmann and Friedrich are very similar: both are soldiers who return from war wounded and who become totally disillusioned, Beckmann as a result of his war experiences, Friedrich through the confrontation with the consequences of the war experiences of others. But while Friedrich - like Toller - becomes immersed in the euphoria of post-war revolutionary development, Beckmann - like Borchert who dies - can find no place for himself in post-war society. Rühle does not point out that the situations of the two heroes, unlike their authors, is different in that Friedrich's war

ended in victory, Beckmann's in defeat, but their reactions directly reflect the political awakening of 1918 and the political vacuum of 1946.

Beckmann feels guilty, betrayed, exhausted, and unwanted, a burden on a new but reactionary society, a society with which he is unable and finally unwilling to identify. He is living proof of the truth about war which no-one wants to hear anymore and through him Borchert accuses post-war society of re-building its identity on untruth.

'Lieber junger Freund' the "Oberst" says to Beckmann, 'Sie stellen die Sache doch wohl reichlich verzerrt dar. Wir sind doch Deutsche. Wir wollen doch lieber bei unserer guten deutschen Wahrheit bleiben'.¹⁹ But his is the truth of the well-fed, the well-clothed, the well-established, the untruth of suppressed reality which ignores the plight of the victims of his heroic age. Borchert's choice of Expressionist means of expression to convey this plight is an immediate reflection of the suffering and inner turmoil of the generation Beckmann represents and the stricken state of their identity crying out for deliverance:

Gibt doch Antwort!
Warum schweigt ihr denn? Warum?
Gibt denn keiner eine Antwort?
Gibt keiner Antwort??
Gibt denn keiner, keiner Antwort???²⁰

Draußen vor der Tür is one of the major expressions of the search for identity through confrontation with "the truth" in the immediate post-war years. Its success, notwithstanding its rejection by a number of critics, especially in Berlin where Rudolf Noelte's 1948 production caused considerable controversy, bears witness to the audiences' search for identity through the medium of truth in Borchert's play. For some,

Draußen vor der Tür stood for the confirmation of their identity, for others it was an act of penance which had to be carried out in the search for this identity.

In his discussion of the play in Theater heute Henning Rischbieter points out that responses to Beckmann's final cry for answers were forthcoming. In literature, the overwhelming success of Des Teufels General might be seen in this light since Zuckmayer's General Harras does indeed take on the responsibility Beckmann is so keen to give back by his dramatic suicide in a sabotaged aeroplane. Furthermore, Rischbieter concludes:

Die real-historische Antwort aber auf Borcherts Trümmerstück und Beckmanns Schlußappell gaben: Währungsreform, Westintegration, Wiederaufbau, Wiederbewaffnung. Es antworteten Konrad Adenauer, Ludwig Erhard und die Wirtschaftswunderdeutschen.²¹

For a number of years these phenomena would contribute to solving the material problems of the country, at least.

The language of Borchert's play should not go unmentioned. In reaction to the elaborate, pathos-laden language of the heroic age Borchert's Beckmann uses simple, everyday language. The effect is to underpin the meaning, and the passion of the contents stands out in stark relief from the simplicity of the dispassionate and often fragmentary language. This reveals a maturity and sophistication in Borchert's style reflecting both the authenticity of his play and the fact that he was not an absolute literary beginner. This differentiated him from many of the writers submitting their first works during these years. Borchert had been a "Kabarettist" in Hamburg after being released from the army due to ill-health in 1943 and had been imprisoned for the second time for producing subversive "Kabarett" texts.

In 1945 he started writing again immediately in a race against time which perhaps guaranteed the economy of style revealed in Draußen vor der Tür.

This background, together with the fact that Draußen vor der Tür was not premiered until November 1947, adds credence to the argument that in the first three post-war seasons it was far too early to expect works of art dealing with the categories listed by Petzet or Erpenbeck to be forthcoming. After all, it took seven years for Der Mann, den sein Gewissen trieb or Das Grabmal des unbekannten Soldaten to be written, and to take the case of a novel, Remarque's Im Western nichts Neues did not appear until 1929. In 1948 Gustaf Gründgens contributed some interesting arguments to this debate on new German drama:

Ich persönlich gehöre nicht zu den Leuten, die bedauern, daß die Schreib-tischschubladen unserer jungen Dichter leer sind. Wäre es nicht schrecklich, wenn die Tragödien der letzten Jahre schon wieder in drei Akten gemeistert wären?²²

Gründgens goes on to criticize the current demand for originality at all costs and calls for a more disinterested appraisal of foreign and German works. He, too, thought it would take time for writers to come to terms with their experiences emotionally; only then could they be translated into dramatic form. He also recognized a tendency to place too much emphasis on the role of the theatre through which impossible demands were made on writers:

... die Kunstaübung ist bei uns so ziemlich das einzige, in dem wir autark sind. Vielleicht aber dadurch kommt eine Überwertung des Theaters zustande, die ebenso gefährlich ist, wie eine Gleichgültigkeit unserem Beruf gegenüber.²³

Such a sober assessment of the situation was exceptional, but though thought-provoking, it had little effect on the mass of opinion with its exaggerated expectations in relation to new German drama.

I have already suggested that Weisenborn's play Die Illegalen did not satisfy such expectations, but it was an important work of the period nevertheless. Like Draußen vor der Tür it was performed all over Germany and abroad, as far afield as Buenos Aires where it was produced by the Deutsches Theater under Alexander Berger. Written in Autumn 1945 Die Illegalen received its world premiere in the "Studio 1946" of the Hebbel-Theater Berlin on 21 March 1946 directed by Franz Reichert.

Although the language of Die Illegalen is very different from that of Draußen vor der Tür, partly due to the fact that the one is set during, the other after the war, the form of the two works is not dissimilar. Weisenborn's play is also composed of a series of loosely connected scenes reminiscent of Expressionism in mode if not in tone. But Weisenborn's debt is greater to the latter half of the Twenties as can be seen from the inclusion of songs in the play, a technique dating back to his collaboration with Brecht in dramatizing Die Mutter in 1930.

Like Draußen vor der Tür, too, the play was based on the personal experiences of the author. Günther Weisenborn, whose books had been burned along with those of so many unacceptable authors on 10 March 1933, had emigrated to New York but continued publishing in Germany under a pseudonym. In 1937 he returned to Germany, was "Chefdramaturg" at the Schiller-Theater under Heinrich George, and then moved to the "Informationsabteilung" of the "Großdeutscher Rundfunk". Here he was able to gain valuable insights into the

workings of the propaganda machine since by 1941 he was an active member of a resistance group, the "Rote Kapelle". When the group was exposed in 1942 Weisenborn was arrested and imprisoned in Luckau only to be released by Russian troops in 1945. It was on the basis of his experiences in the German resistance that he wrote Die Illegalen with the intention of informing an uniformed nation about its activities. In the preface to his play Weisenborn wrote:

Dieses Schauspiel wurde von einem Überlebenden
Zeugen als Denkmal einer illegalen Gruppe (...)
in Erschütterung niedergeschreiben.
(...)

Die Welt muß erfahren, daß es in unserem
Vaterland zahllose Menschen gab, rein wie Eis,
gläubig und freiheitsliebend, die für die
Menschlichkeit kämpften und starben. Dieses
Schauspiel möge den Anstoß geben, daß die Taten
der illegalen Organisationen überall in der
Öffentlichkeit berichtet und diskutiert
werden.²⁴

Weisenborn can be credited with having realized his intentions for the play. It was the first work dealing with the activities of the resistance to be produced and was heralded as an educational work in the sense that it provided authentic information not only on the existence but also on the workings and motivation of such underground movements. But it did not fulfil the expectations placed in new German drama since the strength of the play was its message; as a play it reveals a number of weaknesses. One is its lack of economy of style: whole passages are heavy, overburdened with elaborate language such as the protracted metaphor 'Wir alle sind im Netz, Brüder ...'²⁵ in the opening speech of Act I and several of the monologues. Moreover, despite the subject matter, the play often lacks dramatic tension. The strongest scenes - those at Gestapo headquarters in Act II - are full of dramatic tension because they portray real conflict but the tension is seldom so

penetrating in the scenes featuring the group itself. Although the weaknesses could not be overlooked, commentators at the time were agreed that it was essential for the play to be performed.

Reviewing the Hamburg production at the Junge Bühne under Answald

Krüger in Die Zeit Lovis H. Lorenz noted:

Die Bilder und gern gebrauchten Metapher
sind nur ein schüchterner Vorstoß ins
Dichterische, wenngleich die eindringliche
Sprache den Weg ins Herz des Zuschauers nicht
verfehlt. Man soll dem Zeitstück dies nicht
nachrechnen (...) nachdem der deutsche Mund
so lange geknebelt gewesen ist. Die
Aufführung jedenfalls hat ihr Publikum
ergriffen.²⁶

Lorenz's reference to audience reaction is particularly interesting. Appearing so soon after the end of the National Socialist regime audience reaction, indeed audience anticipation of the play was not always open-minded. When it was produced at the Landestheater Darmstadt by Karlheinz Stroux in May 1946 the Darmstädter Echo reported 'daß das Theater, das sonst lange Schlangen vor seinen Kassenräumen kennt, bei dieser Erstaufführung schlecht besucht war'.²⁷ The closeness of events was compounded by the fear that the play would be so doctrinaire and uncomfortable in the truths it wished to convey that audiences were hesitant to subject themselves to it. Even Friedrich Luft, though for somewhat different reasons, admitted in his review of the Berlin productions:

... ich bin nicht ohne Furcht und Skepsis
vorgestern in das Hebbel-Theater gegangen.
Das Thema des Stückes ist noch sehr nah.
Wie leicht kommt da ein falscher Ton in
die Stimme. Er kam nicht.²⁸

Luft was impressed by the play and encouraged people to go and see it but his encouragement took the form of an apologia. Clearly he felt it necessary to assure audiences that although it was a topical play unashamedly identifying with the interests of one specific grouping, it was

also "Dichtung" and thus should be taken seriously. By categorizing the play as literature and granting it the kudos of the "moralische Anstalt" Luft could be certain of convincing many of the sceptical. He and colleagues like him were successful. Die Illegalen was soon playing to full and enthusiastic houses.

In an unpredictable way it emerges that Die Illegalen is yet another play dealing with identity and that its unexpected popularity was an expression of this fact. Identity within the play is the factor unifying the illegal group in its subversive activities. They identify with a free German nation independent of political differentiations. When Lill is recruiting Walter for the group he asks:

- Walter: Wer sind die Menschen? Welche Art, welche Partei?
- Lill: Es gibt nur noch eine Partei, die heißt 'Freiheit'. Etwas anderes interessiert uns nicht mehr.
- Walter: Sind da Sozis und Kommune mit dabei?
- Lill: Ja, sie kennen keinen Unterschied, wie im KZ.
- Walter: Und das Zentrum? Und Demokraten?
- Lill: Sind auch dabei. Nach der Partei wird nicht gefragt.²⁹

The contribution of Die Illegalen to a national search for identity in the post-war period can be seen in the knowledge of the existence of a German resistance, the fact that there were Germans who valued freedom more highly than their lives. Their actions meant a residue of honour, a remainder of self-respect upon which identity might be re-built. Such an interpretation was not unproblematic since the work of the resistance was certainly not intended to serve as an alibi for the self-esteem of the German nation after the war. Seen in a proper perspective ensuing from self-criticism and humility, however, this unifying feature was of considerable importance. At the end of his

review of the Berlin production Luft referred to one effect the play had had on him:

Eine Nebenwirkung aber keine unwichtige, gewiß; daß hier einer uns und der Welt zeigt -: auch in Deutschland sind sie aufgestanden gegen das Unrecht. Auch hier gab es Männer, die die Freiheit mehr liebten als das Leben. Ehrfurcht vor ihnen und Dank ihnen.³⁰

In the following I pursue the problem of post-war reconstruction in the works of two exiled writers who, not least due to their being in exile, were inevitably concerned with the problem of identity. Both plays were extremely popular in the post-war period and both contributed to the process of coming to terms with Germany's immediate past - an essential step if a new identity were to be created. Both plays can legitimately be termed new German drama since neither had been performed in Germany before the end of the war, although twelve years divided the world premiere of the former from the world premiere of the latter, both at the Züricher Schauspielhaus: Friedrich Wolf's Professor Mamlock in 1934 and Carl Zuckmayer's Des Teufels General in 1946.

Friedrich Wolf: Professor Mamlock

During a lecture he gave at the foundation of the Bund Deutscher Volksbühnen on 17 May 1947 Friedrich Wolf quoted Schiller's "Die Schaubühne als eine moralische Anstalt betrachtet":

Die Gerichtsbarkeit der Bühne fängt an,
wo das Gebiet der weltlichen Gesetze sich
endigt (...) Wenn die Menschenfurcht den
Arm der Obrigkeit bindet, nimmt die
Schaubühne Schwert und Waage und reißt
die Laster vor einen schrecklichen
Richterstuhl.¹

The influence of Schiller's ideas on the development of the German theatre over the last two centuries has been emphasized throughout this account of its post-war situation. Wolf was a dramatist who attempted precisely to make the theatre into a 'politisch übergeordneten Tribunal'² which should fight against the worldly laws of tyrants.

Wolf was a doctor as well as a dramatist; a Communist and the son of a Jewish businessman. He emigrated in 1933 and spent most of the following twelve years in the Soviet Union. Professor Mamlock was written during his first year of emigration in France and Switzerland for the "Truppe 31", an emigré theatre group led by Gustav von Wangenheim in the Soviet Union. The official world premiere was staged by the Züricher Schauspielhaus in November 1934 and was followed by productions in Warsaw, Stockholm, Oslo, Moscow, New York, Shanghai, Tokio, and Sydney. The play was also made into a film in Russia in 1938 and was shown all over the world. Its importance outside Germany between 1933 and 1945 is emphasized by Hans Mayer in his commentary on Professor Mamlock:

Hier war es Friedrich Wolf schon im ersten Jahr der Hitlerherrschaft gelungen, der Welt am Schicksal Mamlocks das wahre Antlitz der faschistischen Barbarei zu enthüllen, damit keiner außerhalb der deutschen Grenzen, der dieses Geschehen auf dem Theater erlebte, von nun an sagen könne, er habe nicht gewußt, was sich hier abspielte.³

The influence of the play during that period cannot be the subject of this discussion. It is certain that by the time it was first produced in Germany - on 9 January 1946 at the Hebbel-Theater in Berlin - the truth was theoretically at least, known in Germany too. Yet Professor Mamlock still proved to be one of the most frequently performed plays of the immediate post-war period. After Berlin it was produced for the first time in the Western Zones by the Städtische Bühnen Düsseldorf, soon followed by the Kammerspiele in München. During the 1946/47 season theatres throughout the Zones from Lübeck to Saarbrücken included the play in their repertoires. But the number of people who actually saw it was greater than even the production figures would suggest: the Stadttheater Gelsenkirchen alone took the play on tour to thirty towns in Nordrhein-Westfalen⁴ following its exceptional success in Gelsenkirchen itself, and in April 1947 Friedrich Wolf was able to write to Erwin Piscator: 'Friedrich Wolf wird wie eine ägyptische Mumie von Archäologen ausgegraben (...) Mamlock (...) ist seltsamerweise das Kassenstück an den Kammerspielen München'.⁵

Its popularity in the Western Zones is one of the aspects which makes Professor Mamlock particularly interesting. It is often claimed, with some justification as has been seen, that the passage of plays from East to West and from West to East was fraught with difficulty.

And Friedrich Wolf belonged very decidedly to the Russian Zone and Berlin. Until the Currency Reform however, Professor Mamlock was staged in all four Zones being performed at more than one hundred theatres.⁶ Afterwards, when Wolf had identified himself firmly with the GDR, it disappeared from the stages of the Federal Republic as completely as it had from those of the Soviet Union during the period of the pact with Hitler-Germany.

Wolf's surprise at the success of his play derived from a number of sources. He could hardly assume that a Jewish Communist writer would become popular in a country which had persecuted Jews and Communists so recently. Indeed, the play actually deals with the fates of Jews and Communists which meant direct confrontation with a dishonourable and shameful past in Germany. On top of this, Professor Mamlock proposes Communism as the definitive social order which would probably not be welcomed in a barely post-fascist state, especially as traditional theatre audiences were drawn from the middle-classes whom he could assume to be most antagonistic to ideas of this kind. But what Friedrich Wolf thought his play was about and what post-war German directors and audiences thought it was about (or turned it into) were two different things.

Just as in the cases of Draußen vor der Tür and Die Illegalen, Professor Mamlock was also the literary expression of events and experiences in Wolf's own life. In an appendix to the play written in 1936 and entitled "Ein 'Mamlock'? - 12 Millionen Mamlocks!" Wolf noted:

Es war noch dunkel am Morgen des 28. Februars 1933 - so zwischen sechs und sieben Uhr früh -, da ging mein Telefon; ich denke: ein Patient, der mich, den Arzt, zu sich ruft. Aber es war ein befreundeter Arzt, ich verstand ihn zuerst nicht, so erregt war er; er sagte: 'Wissen Sie, Kollege Wolf, das hätte ich Ihnen denn doch nicht zugetraut!' - 'Was ist denn los, Kollege?' - 'Was, Sie wissen nicht? Die Kommunisten haben diese Nacht den Reichstag angezündet, Ihre Partei, bitte, ich habe dem nichts mehr hinzuzufügen! Vergessen Sie meine Adresse!!' - Ehe ich etwas erwidern konnte, hatte er den Hörer aufgelegt. Aber schon kam der nächste Anruf, und der dritte, vierte, fünfte. Ärzte, Juristen, Buchhändler, Theaterleute, meine dankbaren Patienten, die mir fürs ganze Leben und darüber hinaus Treue geschworen hatten, alle drückten sie mir ihre Entrüstung über diesen 'kommunistischen Terrorakt' aus. Zuletzt rief eine junge Schauspielerin an, die viele meiner Rollen gespielt und auch an unsern Intellektuellenabenden teilgenommen hatte. Ich sagte dieser klugen Frau: 'Aber Menschenskind, das ist doch die langerwartete Wahlbombe, die von uns in allen Versammlungen seit Wochen vorausgesagte Provokation der Nazis! Glaubst du wirklich diesen Unsinn, daß Kommunisten den Reichstag anstecken?' - 'Ich glaube nicht', erwiderte sie scharf, 'sondern es ist so! Der amtliche staatliche Pressedienst gibt es bekannt!' Schon hatte sie den Hörer aufgelegt.⁷

These experiences do more than provide the background to the plot of Professor Mamlock. They reveal the political thinking Wolf recognized in his own class: the blind belief of German democrats in the infallibility and unerring integrity of the state. He felt it his duty to warn against such trust and created the figure and fate of Mamlock: 'Denn dieser Mamlock ist nicht irgendeiner, er ist einer von Millionen, er ist der Typus von Millionen deutscher Demokraten'.⁸

Wolf sees Mamlock in class terms. He represents the ideas and values of the "Bürgertum" and his fate traces the destruction of these values under the newly elected Hitler-regime. The Mamlock of Act I believes in the state, the family, science, and justice⁹ but one by one

these pillars of his existence are demolished. Yet in Act II, when Nazi politics are already encroaching on his family and his profession, he still believes in the justice of the Hitler-state because he thinks it is protecting his values and preventing them from being undermined by Communism. He still sees the enemy in his own Communist son rather than in the fascist state. The destruction of his values is gradual, culminating in his realization that justice has been abolished in Act III when employees from his own clinic, who wear SA uniforms and act on the authority of the state, hang the sign "Jude" around his neck and drive him away.

Thus to Friedrich Wolf Professor Mamlock was not first and foremost a play about the fate of the Jews and even less, as Hans Daiber and Hermann Glaser claim, the 'Tragödie einer Mischehe'.¹⁰ It was a play about the effect of political change on the "Bürgertum" represented by the Jewish doctor Mamlock whose adherence to the ideals of his class make him blind to the dangers for his race. If he is a victim it is as much of his own blindness as of the Nazi state since he fails to draw the right conclusions from his predicament: for Friedrich Wolf this meant joining the Communist resistance, a step Mamlock himself cannot manage to take but which he recommends to Dr. Inge as his dying wish.¹¹ Furthermore, there is some evidence for supposing that in 1933/34 Wolf did not merely understand Mamlock as a representative of the "Bürgertum" but of Western democracy as a whole. H. Haarmann notes: 'Nicht zufällig heißt (...) die erste Buchausgabe der Moskauer Verlagsgenossenschaft ausländischer Arbeiter in der UdSSR 1935 (...) Doktor Mamlocks Ausweg. Tragödie der westlichen Demokratie'.¹² This title was not used subsequently but it does indicate that Wolf originally wanted to emphasize that the ending of the play - Mamlock's

suicide - represented the capitulation of bourgeois parliamentary democracy in the face of fascism.

As will become clear presently, in 1945 Professor Mamlock was essentially understood as a work dealing with the Jewish question. Indeed, it could hardly have been performed in the Western Zones at all if it had been interpreted in terms of Wolf's original intentions, or only as an historical play with no specific relevance to the present. In 1934 Wolf had quite clearly stated that fascism was evil and that Communism was the alternative. In 1945 such an interpretation would not have been sanctioned by the Western occupying powers. At a time when the Americans had censored all American plays favouring Communism, they would not have allowed overtly pro-Communist productions of German works. But Professor Mamlock is open to interpretation and so it was not necessary to change the play in order to avoid unwanted implications, only the emphasis. If the fact that Mamlock's son is a Communist is played down and the fact that he is a young person is played up, it is possible to make young people into the opposition, and by extension the young in general become the hope for the future rather than young Communists. As the reviewer Gerhard Leo noted in an article on the Düsseldorf production:

Aber die Zukunft unseres Volkes, durch die kämpferische Jugend dargestellt, kann auch durch den schärfsten Terror nicht gebrochen werden. Das ist der Lichtblick in Friedrich Wolfs Zeitstück, der Lichtblick, der auch heute für die Jugend bedeutet, daß die neue Demokratie sie braucht und nur mit ihr fester und bleibender als die vergangene werden kann.¹³

Thus this commentator saw the play as a call to young people to be active politically in order to ensure the moral as well as the physical destruction of fascism and to establish not Wolf's Communism but a new democracy. At this point an interesting contradiction emerges: in 1934 the play presented the death of democracy with Communism as the hope for the future; in 1945 the same play presents the re-birth of democracy which, having defeated fascism, is now itself the hope for the future. In the Western Zones at least this was the message which was emphasized when commentators urged their readers to go and see the play.

As well as this, two major aspects of the play received particular critical attention. The first was that no-one should be allowed to forget the wrongs perpetrated in the name of the German people, not in the abstract but in the very concrete fates of Mamlocks and their families. A review of the Hamburg premiere at the Thalia-Theater on 4 March 1947 was actually entitled "Lektion gegen die Vergeßlichkeit" and began:

Man wird nicht gerade behaupten wollen, daß die Deutschen einer Gedächtnisstütze bedürfen, um sich daran zu erinnern, daß es in ihrem Lande war, wo das organisierte Unrecht 1933 als frischfröhlicher Rassenkrieg gegen den Staatsfeind Nr. 1, den Juden begann, um sich in einem Jahrzwölft zum grausigen Kreuzzug gegen den 'Weltfeind Juda' auszuwachsen. Das Bild 'spontaner Volkswut' ist zu beschämend, als daß die Farben verblassen könnten. Aber es droht in der Not der Gegenwart leicht in die dunkelste Ecke unseres Unterbewußtseins zu geraten.¹⁴

Such sentiments were echoed by a number of commentators¹⁵ although there were those who considered the play relevant in quite a different

second respect. This was much less retrospective and reflected an awareness of continued anti-semitism in Germany. The critic in the Hamburger Volkszeitung, for example, noted: 'Auch heute ist dieser Rassenwahnsinn im deutschen Volke nicht ausgestorben. Wer die Ansichten selbst 'harmloser' Pgs zu diesem Thema kennt, weiß, daß sich ein nennenswerter Gesinnungswandel noch nicht vollzogen hat'.¹⁶ Dr. Walther Pollatschek writing in the Frankfurter Rundschau in 1947 went even further, specifically accusing civil servants of active anti-semitism in favour of 'stramme Pg-Mitläufer',¹⁷ and citing current instances of denunciation and the desecration of Jewish cemeteries. He continued: 'Und ein Professor Mamlock tut uns bitter, bitter not, um uns daran zu erinnern, daß dies nicht Geschichten von damals sind, sondern ein Drama von heute'.¹⁸ For this reason he described Professor Mamlock as 'der wichtigste Theaterabend Frankfurts seit mehr als fünfzehn Jahren'.¹⁹

Clearly such concentration on the fate of the Jews meant a considerable shift in emphasis away from Wolf's ideas on the class-bound nature of and alternatives to fascism. Even though this shift made it performable in post-war Germany, it does not explain the exceptional popularity of the work. Certain reasons for this popularity are easily identified: it had been a highly successful play and film outside Germany; it was the work of an established German dramatist who had gone into exile and whose works had been proscribed; Wolf was one of the first to return from exile - one of the 'Männer der ersten Stunde' - although this was by no means a guarantee of popularity.

There can be no doubt that the subject matter of Professor Mamlock, the dramatic presentation of the real events presaging the founding of the Third Reich, was responsible for much of the interest expressed in the play. Here, too, it is worth noting that a shift had taken place. In 1934 Wolf was revealing facts which were not common knowledge. In 1945 his play, in the documentary tradition of the Weimar Republic, was recapitaluating a chapter in everyone's immediate past and everyone wanted to know how this past was being presented in the theatre. It is also symptomatic of an understanding of the theatre in educational terms in Germany that a work like Professor Mamlock could attract such interest amongst audiences who could not fail to find themselves indicted for their actions by the dramatic conflict they chose to experience. They were willing to expose themselves to their own shame in a search for new moral standards and guidelines upon which to base their lives in the post-war situation. Attending a performance of Professor Mamlock was a genuine attempt to come to terms with the past, an exercise in what the München "Dramaturg" Erné called 'desinfizieren',²⁰ a rather fitting analogy in view of the medical setting of the play.

The appeal of Professor Mamlock embraced a further dimension too, since it portrays the fate of precisely that group of people who traditionally formed the major part of theatre audiences - the "Bildungsbürgertum". As soon as the war finished this group had begun attending performances again, hungry for culture and especially theatre. As well as an educational institution the theatre had long been understood as a social occasion. The framework of post-war productions was initially not very sophisticated but this did not prevent the occasion itself from exercising a certain degree of

social charm in crass contrast to the harshness of everyday life.

It would be misleading, despite its success, to imply that everyone was euphoric in their response to Professor Mamlock. Reviewing the Saarbrücken production of 1947 the critic of the Saarbrücker Zeitung spoke of 'blutleere Symboldramatik' which, after the gas chambers, could only be considered 'eine veraltete Harmlosigkeit'.²¹ Such critics felt that the play as conceived in 1934 failed to render adequately 'das menschenunwürdige Kapitel der Juden-Verfolgung in Deutschland',²² and should not be produced at all, a form of argumentation which has been examined already in relation to another problematic work, Anouilh's Antigone. A further argument against Professor Mamlock was that it was totally irrelevant to the concerns of the post-war years. The critic in the Hamburger Allgemeine Zeitung who was the only one to demolish play and production alike claimed:

Man sieht, daß hier ein Gegenstand behandelt worden ist, der nicht mehr der Gegenwart sondern bereits der Vergangenheit angehört. Da die Geschichte weitergegangen und das Schicksal bereits dazu übergegangen ist, die fürchterliche Sühne für die damalige Schuld einzutreiben, stößt die Wolfsche Anklage, die ihren Sinn gleichsam schon hinter sich hat, heute ins Leere.²³

In extreme contrast to the realism of Wolf's play this critic uses an existentialist frame of reference for his rejection of Professor Mamlock. It is the abstract concepts history and fate which are seen as demanding atonement for yesterday's equally abstract sins and guilt. The vehemence of the rejection is directed primarily at the

subject matter; other critics drew attention to the dramaturgical weaknesses of the play. Overwhelmingly, however, they thought that the significance of the contents outweighed its shortcomings.

Wolf conceived of his play as a political "Lehrstück" (though unBrechtian) but he also sought to create maximum realism as a framework for his ideas. Realism of this kind demands convincing characterization, but Wolf made no attempt to develop rounded characters. His dialogue allows only minimal psychological insight into personal motivation and is largely restricted to continuous exchanges of opinion: representatives of various political convictions expressing their ideas. Mamlock himself is the only convincing character and even he is pre-eminently a representative - of the "Bildungsbürgertum" and of the Jews. Although the programmatic dialogue given to the Nazi doctor Hellpach or the Communist worker Ernst is justified by what they stand for and the situations in which they are presented, Wolf frequently fails to establish authentic relationships between characters and dialogue, especially in the family scenes.²⁴

The family scenes are also the least well-constructed in the play. The second act provides examples: the setting is the sitting-room of Mamlock's home on the day following the burning of the "Reichstag". Rolf is reading the newspaper, Ruth learning Latin, their mother sewing. They discuss political events and the reasons why it would be better not to discuss political events. Mamlock enters, takes up the same discussion with his son; Ruth and his wife exit. Thus far the scene is composed of somewhat agitated dialogue but is otherwise taken at a normal domestic pace. Suddenly Wolf changes the scene into one of

hectic activity with no less than six characters rushing onto the scene within the space of two dozen lines of text.²⁵ Even the most restrained direction would find it difficult to make this scene anything but turbulent and unwieldy especially as the dialogue itself does nothing to lessen the effect.²⁶

Another weakness which gained particular significance in post-war productions is Wolf's dramatic development of Mamlock's behaviour culminating in his suicide at the end of the play. It is not credible that someone who has been preaching courage, truth, and justice should capitulate at the first sign of extreme opposition. The whole end phase of the play surrounding Mamlock's suicide is precipitate and unconvincing. In terms of Wolf's original ideas it is a logical conclusion to the events but the suicide and ending are major problems if understood in direct relation to the person Mamlock. Wolfdietrich Schnurre, writing on the play in the Deutsche Rundschau in 1946, did not think it at all effective.²⁷ In his opinion Mamlock should have died in the gas chambers, which even historically is a rather misleading comment since they had not been introduced at the time the play was written. It does, however, indicate dissatisfaction with the conclusion, and performance history suggests that directors, too, had difficulty in bringing it to a satisfactory close. In the Saarbrücken production, instead of committing suicide, Mamlock was made to die of a heart-attack, thus changing the moral dilemma. And in the Russian film version directed by Adolf Minkin in 1938 Mamlock does not kill himself either: he gets shot during a passionate outburst against the Hitler-regime.²⁸

These varying endings can be seen in direct relation to the dates of production and it is worth noting that the second film version

of Professor Mamlock made by Wolf's son Konrad in the GDR in 1961 features the original conclusion. Inherent weaknesses in the play notwithstanding, the problems surrounding the suicide, in 1945, were essentially a result of the changed emphasis of Wolf's work, removed from its original political context and interpreted according to the criteria of 1945. Individual productions will illustrate the point.

The German premiere of Professor Mamlock took place at the Hebbel-Theater in Berlin on 9 January 1946 directed by Fritz Wisten with Walter Franck in the title role. Since I want to concentrate on productions in the Western Zones it is merely worth mentioning that it was a great success, especially for Walter Franck, and went on tour in the Russian Zone where it was greeted by enthusiastic audiences everywhere.

Four months after the Berlin premiere, on 5 May 1946, Professor Mamlock opened at the Städtische Bühnen Düsseldorf in Wolf's presence. The director was Wolfgang Langhoff who had played the role of Rolf in the Zürich world premiere of 1934 and who, politically, had a similar background and opinions to the author. His production was universally praised by the critics who were agreed that it 'zeichnete mit äußerster Diszipliniertheit der künstlerischen Mittel, nur das wesentliche betonend und wohltuend auf alle Capricchen verzichtend, ein scharf umrissenes Bild der Vorgänge'.²⁹ Only one critic in Freiheit expressed the following important reservation: the Nazis and their power were not made sufficiently evil.³⁰ This was a problem which was experienced in productions of Des Teufels General, too, the problem of finding the right moral register in which to present National Socialism and its representatives. It reveals the self-consciousness which still existed in these early years about the immediate past. For all concerned, directors, actors, critics, and audiences, putting on and going to see plays like Professor Mamlock

Mamlock and Des Teufels General was a more or less tentative step on the road towards coming to terms with that past. That not all actors and directors had the necessary psychological distance from these events to enable them to find the right register just twelve months after the end of the war is not very surprising. In the particular case of Düsseldorf, the problem lay more with the critic than the production. After all, Langhoff was a man with a known anti-fascist background, a former emigré whose experience of plays featuring Nazis covered more than a decade. It was improbable that he should have had any difficulty in finding the right pitch for his production, and in fact none of the other reviewers accused the production of this shortcoming. Furthermore, the text Wolf gives to the main exponent of Nazism alone, provides more than adequate indication of Nazi iniquity. Not only was the critic in Freiheit quite alone in his assessment, an examination of his arguments reveals that they are not very sound. He claimed:

Vom Stampfen der Marschstiefel, das ein Wesens-
element jener Tage war, klang nichts herein,
und von der irren Berauschtigkeit, mit der ein
Volk den Weg ins Verhängnis antrat, wurde
kaum etwas spürbar. Der eine SA-Mann, der das
Gefolge des Nazi-Kommissars bildete, war
ein allzu zahmer Vertreter von Hitlers braunen
Bataillonen. Geistlose Gewalt braucht die Zahl.
Die Gewalt aber hätte erscheinen müssen.³¹

The play is set in two localities: the clinic and Mamlock's sitting room. Since Wolf aims at maximum realism it is hardly likely that the 'Stampfen der Marschstiefel' would be audible in either of these surroundings. The same objection can be made to the point about the mad ecstasy of the people especially as there are enough references in the text to evoke the atmosphere of the time.³² The criticism of the SA-Mann may or may not be correct. No other commentators mention the point so it is impossible to tell whether his presence was sufficiently

intense. To infer from this, however, that it would be necessary to fill the stage with representatives of the 'geistlose Gewalt' in order to make it threatening is an error. If the performances of the Kommissar Dr. Hellpach and the SA-Mann are credible it is not necessary to crowd the stage with extras. In the logic of this critic's argument, this was indeed part of the problem. He thought Hellpach, played by Heinrich Fürst, was not a strong enough opponent to Peter Esser's Mamlock. Again, he was isolated in this assessment. His colleague from the Rhein-Echo claimed: 'Als Gegenspieler Peter Essers gab Heinrich Fürst als Assistenzarzt eine sicher gezeichnete Studie, in der die bedingungslos sture Brutalität des politischen Gewaltmenschen treffend erfaßt war!'³³ Two totally different responses to the same performance are possible after any play but they were an especially common feature in the reception of National Socialists on stage.

All the critics were impressed by Esser's Mamlock. The Rheinische Post praised his 'reife Schauspielkunst',³⁴ while the Rhein-Echo noted: 'Peter Esser gestaltete mit den kultivierten Mitteln seiner Darstellungskunst in der Rolle des Mamlock ein erschütterndes Schicksal edler Menschlichkeit'.³⁵ This comment reveals that this critic, at least, clearly understood Professor Mamlock in terms of human suffering rather than class conflict. But his phraseology seems to belong in a review of Nathan der Weise rather than Wolf's drama. His choice of language deserves comment because it indicates the degree to which the criteria and values of German classicism had permeated the theatre and theatre criticism at the time, so that even a play which was in essence a political "Lehrstück" was interpreted as a vehicle for classical ideals.

Unfortunately, there is no authoritative indication as to how Langhoff and Esser dealt with Mamlock's suicide and final speech to Dr. Inge. Langhoff was a Communist so in theory there was no reason why he should not favour an interpretation setting Communism against fascism. In practice Langhoff was "Intendant" of the Städtische Bühnen and had to cooperate both with a municipal administration which was conservative, and the circumspect, if liberal British cultural authorities. The consequences for Professor Mamlock of this constellation can only be surmised from the programme notes on the one hand, and the reviews on the other.

Several aspects of the Düsseldorf programme notes on Professor Mamlock are worth emphasizing. One is that Langhoff, like Friedrich Luft when discussing Die Illegalen in Berlin, is at pains to justify the choice of a "Zeitstück" and to convince the audience of its value. Along with so many of his contemporaries he seeks his legitimation by drawing comparisons with Schiller: 'So ist "Kabale und Liebe" ein Zeitstück, in welchem Schiller Partei nimmt gegen den höfischen Despotismus',³⁶ and quotes passages from Berlin reviews emphasizing the literary value and Schillerian legacy of Wolf's play.³⁷ By comparison with the programme notes on Nathan der Weise and Leuchtfeuer, however, those on Professor Mamlock are unspecific, and even evasive of Wolf's political beliefs and intentions. Nowhere is the word Communist mentioned, nor is the interpretation of the play defined beyond the ambiguous remark: 'Im "Professor Mamlock" verdichtet er (Wolf) das Geschehen aus dem Deutschland von 1933 zur Tragödie des Deutschen Volkes'.³⁸ Langhoff was certainly in a dilemma. By the time of the Düsseldorf premiere he was in conflict with the municipal authorities who would not have sanctioned an overtly pro-Communist play. In the programme notes he quotes D.E. Weinert who claimed

'Das Wort des Dichters ist näher beim Volk als das des Politikers. Vorausgesetzt, daß der Dichter beim Volk stehe. Das Beimvolkstehen oder besser Imvolkstehen ist eine Kardinalforderung an den echten Dichter'.³⁹ Quite apart from the reference to the special role of the writer, this allusion can be seen as an expression of belief and intent, and a veiled reference to Wolf's political affiliations. But this belief did not find unequivocal expression in Langhoff's production.

The impression made on the critics was that the production set anti-fascist youth rather than Communism against fascism. Rolf's political views, for example, were seen in terms of a brief encounter with Communism on the path to a new democratic order of society and not as an end in themselves. Thus the Rheinische Post describes the role of Rolf as a 'jungen Intelligenzler mit der gesunden Witterung für das Böse',⁴⁰ and the Rhein-Echo noted:

Heinz Drache spielte (...) den Sohn Mamlocks, einen jungen Studenten, der mit dem schnellen Enthusiasmus seiner 20 Jahre im Kommunismus ein Bollwerk gegen Gewalt und Rechtlosigkeit zu sehen glaubt. Drache vermittelte die Figur in ihrer ganzen stürmischen Jugendlichkeit und konzessionslosen Gläubigkeit.⁴¹

This critic is clearly suggesting not only that Rolf ought to have been prepared to make concessions but that his attachment to Communism is a passing adolescent phase. Rolf's actions obviously leave him feeling uneasy. Similarly, Dr. Inge's conversion to the Communist resistance is not viewed politically but transferred to the sphere of humanity like Professor Mamlock's own fate: 'Liselotte Heerema in der Rolle der jungen Ärztin (gab) die Entwicklung von engstirnigem Idealismus zu weitsichtigerer Menschlichkeit mit überzeugender Prägnanz und mitreißender Intensität'.⁴² The production laid considerable emphasis on the relationship between

Rolf and Dr. Inge. By developing this aspect, Dr. Inge's subsequent actions become much more credible than in the play on paper. At the same time, it means that her being encouraged to join Rolf at the end of the play can be interpreted as much in romantic as in political terms.

Although Langhoff's interpretation did not adhere to Wolf's original concept, the anti-fascist message was clearly understood in Düsseldorf. In the final act the audience broke out in spontaneous demonstrative applause when Dr. Inge completed the transition from Nazi to anti-Nazi⁴³ and all the reviewers reported on audience enthusiasm for the play expressed in ovations for the ensemble and director. It was an enthusiasm which reflected the fact that the play touched them: 'Die Erregungen des zeitnahen Stoffes teilten sich dem Publikum mit beklemmender Eindringlichkeit mit'.⁴⁴ As will be seen with reference to the München production, not all audiences were so unanimous in their responses. In Düsseldorf, however, at least one of Wolf's aims for the theatre was achieved. In the words of the reviewer in Freiheit: 'Wir sind dem Theater für diese Aufführung dankbar. Sie macht die Bühne nicht zum Podium, aber die Szene zum Tribunal',⁴⁵ - the same metaphor Wolf used in Zeitprobleme des Theaters.

The München production of Professor Mamlock was staged at the very end of the first post-war season, opening on 27 July 1946. It was revived the following season and performed a total of seventy times. The Münchener Kammerspiele were the venue during the short duration of Erich Engel's period as "Intendant" and the play was directed by one of the theatre's "Dramaturgen" Alfred Erich Sistic.

Sistig received praise from the critics who noted: 'die Aufführung (...) hielt Niveau, war spannend, sauber (...) der besonderen Verantwortung des Themas gerecht'.⁴⁶ Hans Werner Richter spoke of 'meisterhafte Regieführung',⁴⁷ but such praise was as much for excellent ensemble-work as for individual achievement. Alfred Dahlmann mentioned the 'Erfolg einer Gemeinschaftsleistung',⁴⁸ and Ernst Niederreither referred to the 'ausgezeichneten Kollektiv'.⁴⁹ Dahlmann and Niederreither did single out one actor for his special achievement: Friedrich Domin as Professor Mamlock: 'Er hat Augenblicke, in denen eine einzige Bewegung seiner Hände Schicksale aufrollt, eine Welt beschwört. Eine unvergeßliche Leistung'.⁵⁰ Domin was "Oberspielleiter" at the Kammerspiele. According to Dahlmann, his interpretation of the role meant that 'der Stoff politisch entschärft (wurde), zugunsten des deutschen Allgemeinschicksals',⁵¹ and Richter, too, confirmed that the political aspects were secondary to human fate.⁵² This is the same phenomenon already observed in relation to the Düsseldorf production. The original, specifically political intention was altered to make it acceptable in the post-war situation of the Western Zones. In Sistig's production there was no danger of political sensitivity at all: referring to the original title of the play Dahlmann reported: 'Solcher dialektischen Unterlegung hat sich die Münchner Aufführung entzogen'.⁵³ Dahlmann's observations and his reference to an all-embracing German fate as the thrust of the production draw attention to the role played by the theatre as a focus for re-establishing a national German identity. This role is uppermost in relation to the German classics but has also been determined in productions of Draußen vor der Tür and Die Illegalen. It can be seen here, too. Interestingly, Dahlmann defines this process in non-political terms: national identity is unrelated to politics, indeed politics are rejected as a means towards this end. It is more

than ironic that a point of view tending towards the idea of an ideology of no ideology could be expounded with reference to a committed play like Professor Mamlock. It also indicates once again how different a play it was in 1945 from 1934.

Professor Mamlock was a phenomenal success in München. Just as in Düsseldorf the critics insisted no-one should miss it even if they had certain reservations about the production. The characterization of Dr. Hellpach proved to be a problem here, too. Some commentators felt that the method chosen for portraying the Nazi antagonist amounted to caricature: 'Dr Hellpach (...) wirkt zwar, aber er wirkt als sporenklirrender Idiot, dem man gern ein paar Ohrfeigen gäbe'.⁵⁴ Dahlmann noted that in the interval someone had said to him: 'man müsse es den Dichtern untersagen, solche Figuren aus dem NS-Panoptikum auf die Bühne zu stellen. Damit müsse man noch warten'.⁵⁵ Dahlmann disagreed vehemently but the incident shows that members of the audience had as much difficulty coming to terms with Nazis on stage as the actors and directors themselves. After all, Professor Mamlock was an uncomfortable experience for many. Confrontation with events for which audiences were supposed to feel responsibility and guilt might be a purging experience, but having judgment passed on one's actions, or lack of them, was not considered salutary by everyone. Opinions differed as to the real effect of the play on the audience. While one commentator doubted whether the audience of 1946 was really touched by what they saw as the problems of 1933/34,⁵⁶ others thought that 'der Wille zur Aufrüttelung des Gewissens die Zuschauer von der Bühne her tief angriff'.⁵⁷ Audiences were prepared to listen and take notice of the lessons being propounded on stage even when as in the case of Professor Mamlock, the lessons were sometimes very bitter.

In Hamburg, too, a reporter was able to note 'Das Publikum schien gewillt, die zeitgeschichtliche Rekapitulation zu Herzen zu nehmen'.⁵⁸ The Hamburg production was put on at the Thalia-Theater on 4 March 1947. It was directed by Heinz Sailer with the "Intendant" of the Thalia, Willy Maertens, in the title role. Like Friedrich Domin in München, Maertens was praised not only for his acting but for shifting the emphasis of the play from the specifically political to the all-embracing general. The Hamburger Echo stated: 'Die zentrale Figur des Professors Mamlock führte Willi (sic) Maertens zu tiefer Tragik und siedelte selbst die Wolfschen politischen Anklagen noch im Bereich des Menschlichen an'.⁵⁹ This comment is also reminiscent of certain responses to the Düsseldorf production. It reveals complete trust in the concept of humanity although a precise and generally recognized definition of the term is never given. It signals the opposite of all that National Socialism had stood for, although here it is clearly viewed as being opposed to Wolf's political accusations which were themselves in opposition to National Socialism. Thus this is yet a further instance of the interpretability of the play at the time. While "Menschlichkeit" had been tried and proven, politics have been tried and have failed. The result is a deep suspicion of anything political and a tendency to search for guidelines in the concepts of a classical age.

With one exception, the production in Hamburg was praised, Sailer being credited with 'eine straffe und zielstrebige Regie'.⁶⁰ The exception was the critic in the Hamburger Allgemeine Zeitung although his comments reveal at least as much about his own attitudes as about Sailer's interpretation of Wolf's drama:

Nachdem man ihr (der Aufführung) merkwürdigerweise fast unbeteiligt beigewohnt hat, läßt man sie wie einen häßlichen Traum hinter sich, bedrückt von einer Atmosphäre des Gelenkten, Vergifteten und Amusischen, dem ein schwunglos-hölzernes Marionettenspiel vergebens Relief zu geben und menschlichen Atem einzuhauchen suchte.⁶¹

It is interesting, too, that this critic does not mention how the audience reacted to the play. It seems unlikely that it would have received 'ein herzlicher und anhaltender Beifall',⁶² as noted by other commentators if the audience had been as untouched as he was. And while Sailer's direction did not entice the same euphoria from the reviewers achieved by Langhoff, none of them condemned it. Sailer attempted to introduce certain technical features by projecting political headlines onto the curtain before each act accompanied by background noises. Not everyone liked the background noises, one reviewer suggesting Sailer could have dispensed with the 'merkwürdige, vermutlich Volksgemurmel vortäuschende Geräusche'.⁶³

One problem which was not discussed in Hamburg was the presentation of the Nazis. Dr. Hellpach, played by Reinhold Nietschmann, was described by one critic as having the requisite 'Kaltschnäuzigkeit und phrasenhafte Automatik des "nordischen Übermenschen" von 1933'.⁶⁴ An incidental remark by another reviewer, however, suggests a further similar problem area. It ensued from a discussion about the portrayal of the Communist worker Ernst by Peter Mosbacher. Mosbacher was no minor actor. He had played the title role in Don Carlos earlier in the season, and although the role of Ernst in Professor Mamlock is small, it dominates most of one act. Judging by the reactions of a number of commentators Mosbacher was not lacking in sensitivity as an actor, but one critic claimed that he missed the 'darstellerische(s) Einfühlungsvermögen',⁶⁵ required for this role. He continued:

'Vielleicht ist es auch Abneigung gegen diese Rolle'.⁶⁶ This was an isolated comment which may not have been intended politically at all, but it implies that having to play the role of a Communist is unpleasant for the actor: a problem, perhaps as much of a problem as having to portray a Nazi character. If all politics are suspect, the part of a political activist is fraught with problems for actors and audiences alike.

Carl Zuckmayer : Des Teufels General

In a number of ways, only some of which are obvious at first sight, Des Teufels General was parallel to Professor Mamlock. There were also significant differences, however, both between the authors and their works and these also contribute to an analysis of the meaning and role of the plays in the post-war period.

Like Friedrich Wolf, Carl Zuckmayer was an emigré from Hitler's Germany. The performance of his works, including his classic satire on inhumane bureaucracy and militarism Der Hauptmann von Köpenick, was proscribed in 1933 and he moved to Austria until he was forced to leave there in 1938. Via Switzerland and Cuba he finally emigrated to the USA where he was able to scratch a living as a farmer in Vermont.

In his autobiography Zuckmayer describes the psychological burden of being (a writer) in exile:

Als wir Henndorf verlassen mußten, glaubten wir, alles verloren zu haben, was uns lieb und teuer war, und was das Leben lebenswert machte: denn es bedeutete gleichzeitig den Verlust aller empfangenen und erworbenen Zusammenhänge, der natürlichen Zugehörigkeit, wie sie Abstammung, Erziehung, Tradition, Arbeitsgemeinschaft, auch Stil und Gewohnheit des täglichen Lebens in uns gegründet hat. Mehr noch - den Verlust der Sprache, das Element und Material seiner gesamten Tätigkeit, also auch ihres Ertrags, und für jeden Menschen die eigentliche Substanz, Quelle und Wurzel aller Erkenntnis, Erfahrung, Kommunikation - des Humanen schlechthin.¹

What Zuckmayer is describing is the loss of all the components of identity, a problem which for various reasons is more acute for Zuckmayer than for Wolf. For one thing, Wolf was writing at a

different and earlier stage in Nazi-Germany's historical development and with a concomitantly different psychological state of mind. For another, Wolf had a political identity through his affiliation to Communism. Thus although both authors wrote their works during their exile, for the one it was an act of defiance and a contribution to anti-fascist literature, for the other it was a way of confirming his identity and a catharsis through which he was able to free himself from a crippling conflict which approached despair after the beginning of Hitler's Russian Campaign; 'Ich wünschte den Untergang Hitlers und seiner Schreckensherrschaft, aber kein zerstörtes, niedergeworfenes Deutschland. Doch wurde es immer deutlicher, daß das eine ohne das andere kaum denkbar sei',² a paradox which is worked into Des Teufels General in the motives of the resistance movement.

Zuckmayer wrote the first act and a draft of the last in three weeks over Christmas and New Year 1942/43 'für die Schublade'⁴ and he never afterwards changed a word of the first act. He needed a further two years to complete the play: 'Aber ich lebte mit dem Stück, ich lebte mit Deutschland. Als der Krieg zu Ende ging, war auch das Stück vollendet'.³ Zuckmayer's intimate personal understanding of the problem of identity is one of the reasons for the subsequent success of his play in Germany since the problems he experienced in exile could be related directly to those of 1947.

Furthermore, to a much greater extent than Wolf, Zuckmayer offers criteria on which a new national German identity might be founded. In the exchange between Harras and Eilers, for example, in Act I, he emphasizes the existence of the "other" Germany inherent in the German people and the German countryside which should provide the foundation for the creation of a new national state.⁵ The extent of

Zuckmayer's personal dilemma and his belief in a future for Germany also finds expression in Harras's discussion with Oderbruch on the implications of resistance in Act III.⁶

Such empathy with Germany surprised German commentators, especially as it was compounded by the precise evocation of the atmosphere during the war years. As one critic noted: 'An das Wunderbare grenzt es, daß ein Emigrant das Stück schon während des Krieges (1942) konzipieren und schon im Juli 1945 vollenden konnte'.⁷ Apart from its authenticity, which validated the work in Germany, the fairness and objectivity of Zuckmayer's approach amazed German audiences: 'ein Dichter (hat) den Mut, ohne den ideologischen Knüppel, auch ohne pathetisch erhobenen Zeigefinger, überhaupt ohne Zeigefinger, Menschen zu zeigen wie sie waren'.⁸ Des Teufels General is not accusing because it is not anti-fascist. Zuckmayer was not interested in proving how pernicious the Nazis were or attacking the regime but in investigating the moral dilemmas experienced by those living and working in a state ruled by an evil system. 'Des Teufels General ist ein Versuch, die Menschen als Menschen zu sehen, auch in dieser sehr unerfreulichen Lage'.⁹ Due to their objectives, anti-fascist "Zeitstücke" tended to present this situation in black and white. In an article in Die Zeit following the German premiere in Hamburg Josef Marein noted 'eines hat das Publikum dankbar gespürt: daß hier wohl zum ersten Male ein echter Dichter Deutschlands dunkelste Zeit nicht einfach nur in Schwarz-Weiß-Technik malte. In dieser Schilderung war alles bunt und prall vor Leben'.¹⁰ The terms "schwarz/weiß" and "Schwarz/Weißmalerei" occur frequently in contemporary texts and reviews describing the average topical play to which Des Teufels General is set in grateful contrast.¹¹

Des Teufels General did, however, pose a greater problem to the four occupying powers than Professor Mamlock. It was premiered in Zuckmayer's presence at the Züricher Schauspielhaus on 14 December 1946. His friend Heinz Hilpert who had remained in Germany throughout the Nazi years and who had thus experienced at first hand the reality Zuckmayer seeks to create in the play, directed a cast headed by Gustav Knuth as General Harras. It was a huge success. Immediately German "Intendanten" sought to obtain the performing rights in their Zones. But the Americans, British, French and Russians were not convinced that German audiences were ready, psychologically, to understand the play. They feared it might be produced as a pathetic tear-jerker or interpreted as 'ein Heldendrama unverstandener und irregeleiteter Idealisten'.¹² Most sensitive of all is a scene in the final act which was felt to be open to misinterpretation. It features Anne Eilers whose husband has died in a sabotaged plane. She confronts Harras with his responsibility for her husband's death. She accuses him of sending pilots to fight for a cause he knows to be wrong, and hence to a vain death. Against his actions she sets those of her husband:

Anna: Friedrich Eilers wäre nie in einen Krieg gegangen, von dessen Recht er nicht durchdrungen war. Nie hätte er einen Menschen getötet, ohne zu glauben, daß er es für die gerechte Sache tut. Sie töten ohne Recht und Glauben, für eine Sache, die Sie hassen und verachten. Sie sind ein Mörder. Eilers war ein Held.¹³

Clearly the Allies believed that such sentiments might be taken as an excuse for Hitler and other leading Nazis: they believed in what they were doing and so it was legitimate. The justification for fears regarding interpretability can be observed in the context of the Berlin production of 1948 although this was closely determined by the special situation of that city, as will be seen presently. Most of all the Allies

were unhappy about the figure of General Harras. It was the Americans' fear that their re-educational aims might be obstructed by 'die Verherrlichung eines deutschen Fliegergenerals',¹⁴ and that 'die sympathische Figur des General Harras (...) könne manch einem Nationalsozialisten als postmortem Entschuldigung dienen'.¹⁵ Thus they prevented of the production of the play in the Zone until almost a year after the Zürich premiere. The French authorities waited even longer before releasing the rights.

Harras is indeed a problematic figure because his role is essentially ambiguous. He is a Nazi general but he is not a Nazi; he is a figure of authority both due to his position and his character but at the same time he is the willing servant of a deplorable regime. Furthermore, his position is a precise expression of Zuckmayer's own dilemma: he is both for and against Nazi-Germany because he is for Germany and against the Nazis. He is, above all, eminently likeable. In this combination the Allies feared that his guilt - his choice to serve a power he knows to be evil - would be overshadowed by his personality, implying that all Nazi generals were 'nice guys' who had gone wrong. At this point it is worth highlighting further, if curious parallels to Professor Mamlock. Not only does Wolf's play revolve around one central figure but it also deals with this figure's guilt and responsibility for his own situation. And this notwithstanding the fact that these two parallel figures are a Jewish doctor and a Nazi general, unlikely candidates for sharing a burden of guilt. On top of this, both Mamlock and Harras take their own lives at the end of the plays, having both been enlightened about their errors by the resistance movement. Neither feels able to join that movement; according to Harras: 'Wer auf Erden des Teufels General wurde und ihm

die Bahn gebombt hat - der muß ihm auch Quartier in der Hölle machen',¹⁶ but both demonstrate their eventual support, Mamlock by encouraging Dr. Inge and his son, Harras by encouraging Hartmann and keeping his discoveries to himself.

By contrast with Des Teufels General the resistance movement featured in Professor Mamlock did not present a difficulty to any of the occupying powers, an inexplicable fact despite generalizing productions. In Zuckmayer's play the form of resistance portrayed compounded the problem posed by General Harras. Zuckmayer presents the aims of the resistance in a favourable light but challenges their methods.¹⁷ No straightforward solutions are offered, and the Allies doubted whether the Germans were capable of fine differentiation within a couple of years of the demise of National Socialism. Indeed, they feared that the presentation of the resistance group led by Chefingenieur Oderbruch might induce another "Dolchstoßlegende". Some German commentators also recognized this danger: 'Allzu laut ist bei uns noch die Stimme des Ressentiments, des Restgefühls aus beiden Lagern: Haß und enttäuschter Glaube'.¹⁸ Alfred Dahlmann on the other hand claimed 'Ich meine, daß die Theaterbesucher von heute nicht mehr dumm genug sind, um zu glauben, daß einer von diesen Oderbruchs der Schuldige am Niedergang war'.¹⁹

Considerations of this kind raised the question, subsequently much discussed in articles and theatre journals, as to whether the Germans themselves could take responsibility for putting on Des Teufels General, a debate related to the principle of censorship in general. Many critics were sceptical although a clear tendency can be discerned amongst Berlin critics to be more pessimistic about the Germans' relationship to National Socialism and thus more wary of the influence of plays of

this kind than their colleagues in the Western Zones. Walter Lennig writing in the Berliner Zeitung noted:

Das Stück ist nun einmal über alle deutschen Bühnen gegangen. Aber es bleibt der Eindruck, daß es damit noch gute Weile gehabt hätte. Die innere Distanz zu den damit verbundenen Vorgängen, die Unbefangenheit in ihrer Schilderung (...) durfte beim deutschen Publikum noch nicht vorausgesetzt werden.²⁰

Friedrich Luft also had misgivings. In his opinion care should be taken 'damit nicht der Glanz, sondern der verborgene Gedanke von dem Stück genommen wird'.²¹ Although not unaware of the dangers, the overwhelming weight of opinion in the Western Zones was opposed to plays like Des Teufels General falling victim to the censor. The following quotation from Die Zeit is typical of many: 'Reif oder nicht reif genug für dieses Stück? (...) es (...) (sollte) immer so entschieden werden, daß man grundsätzlich keine Stücke, die Wert und Wahrheit bergen, unterdrücken möge'.²²

When the play was eventually released for production nearly all the reviewers commented on audience reaction and, once again, a clear distinction can be drawn between Berlin and the Western Zones. In this context it is worth remembering that critics who considered the play intrinsically suitable or unsuitable in theory, tended to (seek and) find confirmation for their opinions in practice. And the critics of the Left were mostly of the opinion that it should not be performed because, according to Fritz Erpenbeck, it was a 'Verzerrung der gesellschaftlichen, der historischen und szenischen Wahrheit'.²³ As will be seen presently Des Teufels General was sacrificed to the highly-charged political situation in Berlin, and thus it comes as no surprise that Erpenbeck and his colleagues could not find a good word to say about the audiences' responses. A certain section of the audience, he claimed,

instead of being put to shame by the events of the play, especially in the first act, 'fühlt sich (...) kannibalisch wohl' and he ended his review with the caustic remark: 'Ein großer Publikumserfolg. Nur wäre zu untersuchen, bei welchem Teil des Publikums. Aber nicht von uns. Das wäre Sache einer (imaginären) Entnazifizierungskommission'.²⁴

Quite by contrast, the liberal critic Emil Belzner reporting on the Frankfurt premiere in December 1947 was almost as impressed by the audience's response as he was by the production itself. He, of course, was firmly in favour of producing the play in Germany:

Es war ein enthusiastischer Erfolg (...) für das Publikum, das sich der Problemstellung des Werkes gewachsen zeigte (...)(Das Stück) wurde vor einem Publikum gespielt, dem es ein (...) bedeutendes Anliegen war, das Werk (...) richtig verstanden und bis in seine letzten Schlüsse begriffen und geprüft zu wissen.²⁵

The most detailed analysis of audience reaction was carried out by Josef Marein for Die Zeit. He reviewed the Hamburg production from the point of view of "Zuckmayers Drama und sein Publikum". Like Belzner he was able to write positively about the audience although he did note that some people ostentatiously left the auditorium during the scene between Harras and Oderbruch in the final act. Other members of the audience accompanied their departure with cries of 'die Nazis gehen'.²⁶ In spite of the existence of a minority of die-hard Nazis, Marein came to the following conclusions on Zuckmayer's audience:

... daß die Wahrheit über das Hitler-regime sich durchgesetzt hat, daß der Alpdruck der Nazizeit im Inneren der Deutschen mehr und mehr geschwunden ist. Das Experiment der Konfrontation mit einem Stück, das Wahrheit, Gerichtstag und Spiegel ist, in dem die Deutschen, was viele Rollen betrifft, sich selber wiederfinden, ist geglückt.²⁷

One particular section of the audience should be singled out for examination: young people. Zuckmayer spared no effort in meeting groups of young people after performances to discuss his play with them. He had returned to Germany with a United States government posting in the autumn of 1946 and attended productions of Des Teufels General throughout the Western Zones for the next two years. Many young people identified with Hartmann, the young Lieutenant whose childhood was dominated by the "Hitler-Jugend", the "Ordensburg" and later the military, but whose experiences in war cause him to question the beliefs with which he had been indoctrinated. He meets Harras just after he has been rejected by his BDM-fiancée because of a non-Arian ancestor and is contemplating suicide. Harras manages to draw him back into life and finally entrusts his future to Oderbruch on the understanding that he will introduce him to the work of the resistance. Hartmann's problem, the one with which so many young people identified, is the subject of the second dialogue between him and Harras. In Lodz, Hartmann witnessed his friends shooting down unarmed victims for fun, an incident which has started to open his eyes to the innate evil of the system. He asks Harras:

Hartmann: Aber wie soll etwas Neues werden, etwas Starkes
 und Gutes, wenn es damit anfängt, daß man das
 Niedrigste und Gemeinste in den Menschen ent-
 fesselt? Wie soll man die neue Zeit ertragen
 - wenn sie mit nichts als Mord beginnt?²⁸

Having been brought up on Nazi doctrine, taught to believe and to obey, he no longer knows where he stands, what he thinks or how he should act. Like Beckmann in Borchert's Draußen vor der Tür, he feels betrayed. Many young people felt similarly disoriented in 1948. In one case a young actor who was supposed to play Hartmann told Zuckmayer: 'Die Rolle kann ich nicht spielen. Ich bin selbst

der Leutnant Hartmann'.²⁹ Zuckmayer managed to convince him that this was all the more reason for playing the role. Later he noted: 'Ich spürte überall die Verwirrung. Sie wußten nicht, was war schlecht, was war gut'.³⁰ This confusion was further revealed by the public discussions Zuckmayer encouraged. At the München debate one speaker claimed: 'Diese jungen Leute, wie der Leutnant Hartmann haben in ihrer ganzen Enttäuschung noch nicht aus der inneren Zerrissenheit herausgefunden und stehen den veränderten Verhältnissen verständnislos gegenüber'.³¹ And another young man, a former officer, called out:

Glauben Sie mir, wir sind alle keine Nazis mehr,
die meisten von uns schon lange nicht mehr - aber
nicht jeder hat einen General Harras gefunden, der
ihm den Weg zeigte. Jetzt sind Sie gekommen,
jetzt helfen Sie uns neuanzufangen.³²

Zuckmayer discussed these problems tirelessly: 'Ich sprach mit ihnen, alles, was nicht von außen kam, wirkte wie eine Offenbarung'.³³

Two interesting points ensue from Zuckmayer's last comment. The first is that he did not consider himself or his play as having come 'von außen'. His unbroken identification with Germany, which manifested itself both in his work and his personality, helps to account for the second point: that young people, having seen his play, sought his advice and accepted his authority. As late as 1971 he recorded in an interview: 'ich bekomme heute noch Briefe'.³⁴ In this respect Des Teufels General clearly achieved what Zuckmayer had hoped for when he told his young audience at the München debate in 1948:

Wenn mein Stück zur Klärung und zur Befreiung
von Vorurteilen beiträgt, wenn es nichts
anderes schafft als die Basis, auf der Sie
sich klar werden können über Dinge, die Sie
überwinden wollen, und über das, was Sie noch
nicht gefunden haben, wenn es nur Ausgangspunkte
zeigt und richtige Ziele bin ich schon froh,
es geschrieben zu haben.³⁵

It was not only through the figure of Leutnant Hartmann that Zuckmayer developed issues of significant relevance to people at the time. The whole play is concerned with the moral conflicts relating to concepts like guilt, duty and loyalty. Many commentators then as now make the German resistance the main theme of the play³⁶ but in fact the emphasis here, too, is placed on the moral conflicts involved in resistance rather than on resistance itself. Problems are posed, not solved: should one actively support resistance to a thoroughly evil regime even if it means sacrificing colleagues and friends whose motives in serving that regime are not evil, who are merely doing their duty? And can motives of this kind be pure if the regime is evil? These issues are central to the confrontation between Harras and Oderbruch in Act III which culminates in Harras's decision to protect the resistance from exposure.³⁷

Guilt is a major theme of the play and Harras bears the greatest burden of guilt: a man of no small intelligence and ability has, of his own free will, placed his professional knowledge, his authority and his reputation at the disposal of the regime he loathes and knows to be evil. In Act I he explains his motives to von Mohrunen:

Harras: ... ich bin ganz kalt in die Sache hineingestiegen,
und ohne Illusionen. Als die (Nazis) im Jahre 33
drankamen - da wußte ich genau, daß 'n kleiner
Weltkrieg angerichtet wird. Na, und ich hab nun
mal einen Narren dran gefressen - an der Fliegerei,
meine ich. Luftkrieg ohne mich - nee, das könnt
ich nicht aushalten.³⁸

Harras's description of his motives is reminiscent of a conversation between Zuckmayer and his friend Ernst Udet quoted in Zuckmayer's autobiography, in which Udet claimed: 'Ich (...) bin der Luftfahrt verfallen. Ich kann da nicht mehr raus. Aber eines Tags wird uns alle der Teufel holen'.³⁹ It was generally assumed that Harras was Udet who was also a senior officer in the "Reichsluftfahrtministerium" and who

committed suicide in 1941.⁴⁰ In the München discussion however, Zuckmayer claimed: 'Ich habe nicht Udet gemeint. Udet war für mich ein Anlaß'.⁴¹ The apparent contradiction is easily explained. Zuckmayer played down the similarities between Udet and Harras in order to discourage the inference that Des Teufels General was a play about an historical individual or worse, a justification of an individual's deeds. Zuckmayer is investigating Harras's guilt: although he cannot compensate for what he has done he does pay the penalty for his guilt and thus takes on the responsibility Borchert's Beckmann sought to give back to those who were in fact responsible.

In their own ways all the characters are guilty because they are all representatives of various facets of Nazi-Germany. Oderbruch is guilty, too. He is a freedom-fighter who cannot allow himself to be swayed from his goal at any price: 'Wir können nicht haltmachen vor denen, die wir lieben! Thus he knowingly sends his colleagues and friends to their deaths in sabotaged aircraft. Challenged by Harras he replies: 'Dann müssen wir auch diese Schuld auf uns nehmen. Reinigung - das ist unser Gesetz, und unser Urteil'.⁴³ Oderbruch's loyalty to the morality he wishes to renew cannot prevent him from becoming guilty. Even Leutnant Hartmann is guilty although his guilt is passive and less personal than Oderbruch's. His is the guilt of human error, the guilt of one who believed in a lie. There are other characters whose weakness seals their guilt: Baron Pflungk, a foreign-office attaché who nurtures his connexions in order ensure that he is always on the winning side. Weakness of character also determines the guilt of the industrialist Sigbert von Mohrunen. Like Harras he knows what sort of regime he is dealing with but he is neither strong enough to stand up for what he

believes to be right nor, like Harras, to take the consequences. He is the epitome of the highly-placed industrial hanger-on. In the absence of people like him and Harras, the more obviously guilty, the active supporters of the regime, would never have got the chance to be where they are: the Schmidt-Lausitzs and the Pützchens of the National Socialist state. Nor are the peripheral characters forgotten in this all-embracing portrayal of guilt: even the waiter Detlev operates an intercepting/listening device for the Gestapo. The motives vary but the resulting guilt varies only in degree. The fact that Zuckmayer's figures are representatives does not mean they are programmatic like Wolf's. Characterization is one of Zuckmayer's strengths and his fully-developed dramatic characters succeed in making their guilt transparent so that audiences were frequently reminded of types and people they had known (or been). Many critics noted how comprehensively Zuckmayer presented the guilt-theme: 'Zuckmayer hat an jede Schattierung der Schuld gedacht',⁴⁴ and came to the conclusion: 'Wir - wir sind schuld'.⁴⁶

Des Teufels General contains figures from the sensitive field of National Socialism which proved such a problem in post-war productions. Harras himself is uncomplicated. He is strong, masculine, attractive and blunt, a dare-devil in his job and his life-style, although his role is inherently ambiguous which must be made clear.

The power of the Nazi-party is personified by the "Kulturleiter" Dr. Schmidt-Lausitz, Harras's direct opponent. He is a mouthpiece for official opinions, the type of functionary who adheres unerringly to the party-line. On paper he is rather a wooden character, at least by comparison with Harras. Furthermore, the overwhelming opinion of the critics at the time was that he did not match up to the real prototype.⁴⁶

Alfred Dahlmann commented:

So war das nämlich nicht. In ihren letzten Jahren waren diese Herrschaften gesellschaftlich arriviert und beherrschten den Komment aus dem ff. In diesem (...) exklusiven Partei-Milieu - besonders in der Reichshauptstadt - war solch ein Typ aus den unteren Parteikreisen, solch ein Prototyp des stellv. Ortsgruppenleiters nicht salonfähig.⁴⁷

It is certainly true that Zuckmayer had no experience of the Schmidt-Lausitz types during the latter war years and Dahlmann's argument is very convincing. The weakness in the Schmidt-Lausitz characterization has far-reaching consequences for the play as a whole, as Dahlmann pointed out: if the declared representative of the Hitler-regime looks vaguely stupid rather than clever, sinister and menacing, why should anyone have been taken in by Nazism in the first place and why should the careful, thorough resistance movement have such difficulty in disposing of it? Furthermore, if the devil is not convincingly evil it becomes difficult to find the justification for Oderbruch's acts of sabotage. These were serious problems for actors and directors interpreting the role.

An equally problematic character, though for different reasons, is Oderbruch. He appears for the first time late in the play, at the very end of the second act. Prior to his appearance Harras constantly emphasizes his conscientiousness and reliability. The role is very demanding if the actor is to find the right combination of fanatical dedication, secret suffering and sensibility, especially as his late introduction makes a credible integration of the character into the play extremely difficult.

Des Teufels General is a play dominated by male characters. The female roles are incidental to the main action, so much so that despite the comprehensiveness of his article in Die Zeit Josef Marein banished them to a short appendix beginning 'Wir vergaßen, daß es Frauen in

Zuckmayers Stück gibt'.⁴⁸ The women are, however, important to the play's visual success, particularly in the first act. This is not only one of the longest single acts in the whole of German drama but certainly the most effective in the play itself. Its cohesion directly reflects the fact that it was written during a single bout of almost compulsive writing.

The success of the play was phenomenal. During the first year of production, 1947/48, seventeen theatres performed it a total of 844 times. This number increased to 2 069 performances at fifty-three theatres the following season, a seasonal total unparalleled by any other play in the post-war German theatre.⁴⁹ Even after the Currency Reform in June 1948 which emptied the theatres and forced productions to close, Des Teufels General continued playing to packed houses every night.⁵⁰

The first performance of Des Teufels General in Germany took place on 8 November 1947 at the Deutsches Schauspielhaus Hamburg directed by Friedrich Brandenburg. The majority of the critics were enthusiastic. Der Ruf called it 'ein glänzender Erfolg',⁵¹ and Die Welt described the Hamburg premiere as 'ein großer Wurf'.⁵² The performance lasted four hours despite a considerable number of cuts to the text. These were welcomed with the exception of the scene involving the interrogation of two workmen shortly after the opening of the third act which René Drommert thought was 'ein recht schmerzlicher Strich'.⁵³ The exclusion of this short episode is not without consequences for an understanding of Oderbruch's behaviour. His actions are set in context by the two silent workmen which helps to prepare for the ensuing revelation to Harras and to demonstrate that he is not a lone fanatic.

In spite of this unfortunate cut the production tried with some success, to stress the ideas of the play rather than concentrating too exclusively on Harras. Reimar Hollmann reviewing the Hannover production, claimed that the Hamburg production revolved solely around Harras.⁵⁴ He was in a minority, and the tenacity with which he condemns Hamburg's Des Teufels General by contrast with his glowing assessment of the production in Hannover suggests that local patriotism made him a less than impartial observer. Two points indicate that the Hamburg production did not concentrate solely on Harras. First, the production was universally praised for its excellent ensemble work. In the Echo der Woche Karl Heinz Rückert wrote: 'Das Schauspielhaus findet sich gerade in diesem Stück zu einem überzeugenden Ensemblespiel',⁵⁶ and Marein placed the responsibility for this achievement squarely with the director:

Dank dem Regisseur Friedrich Brandenburg,
der das Kunststück fertiggebracht hat,
die bisher meist leider nur in Einzelleistungen
hervorgetretenen, übrigens ausgezeichneten
Darsteller des Staatlichen Schauspielhauses
zu einem so starken Ensemble zusammenzuschmieden,
daß die Tücken des Ersatztheatersaales am
Besenbinderhof glänzend überspielt wurden.⁵⁶

Another argument against Hollmann was the choice of Robert Meyn to play Harras. Meyn was a capable actor used to taking leading roles but he was not a star. Even in a distinguished company the choice of a star for a leading part inevitably focuses attention on it. With Meyn as Harras this danger was avoided, which is not to imply that he was not equal to the challenge.

Meyn possessed one particular quality, immediately recognized by several critics, which made him an especially appropriate Harras: his vitality. The Hamburger Allgemeine Zeitung commented on his 'Elan und Vitalität',⁵⁷ while the Hamburger Freie Presse noted his 'schauspielerische

Vitalität und Expansionskraft'.⁵⁸ Some reservations were expressed about his ability to maintain the clear contours of the character at moments of revelation⁵⁹ but not all critics subscribed to this view. The highest praise came from the Hamburger Echo for the credibility of his interpretation of Harras:

Ihm glaubt man es, daß er Korrianke,
einen Chauffeur (...) aus dem KZ herausholt,
daß er bereit ist, einen verfolgten Juden ins
Ausland zu fliegen, und daß er gleichzeitig
den Machthabern eine furchtbare Luftwaffe
mit bauen hilft.⁶⁰

Clearly Meyn managed to capture the ambiguity of the role.

Not all the roles were as uncontroversially cast as Harras. Bernhard Minetti played Oderbruch. Several reviewers failed to comment on his performance at all,⁶¹ the rest were divided. Drommert praised his 'große Ausdruckskraft',⁶² and Rückert his ability to manifest 'das Untergründige, das "Verdrängte" des illegalen Saboteurs'.⁶³ The same effect elicited negative reactions from another commentator. Having severely criticized a good deal of the casting, the reviewer in the Hamburger Allgemeine Zeitung continued: 'Dieses Fehl in der Rollenverteilung wurde doppelt deutlich durch die mit Nachdruck und dämonischer Schärfe umrissenen Gestalt, die Bernhard Minetti (...) als Chefingenieur gab'.⁶⁴ Heinz Pauck in the Neue Zeitung made a short and precise assessment of Minetti's Oderbruch: 'Fehlbesetzung'.⁶⁵

It would seem that Minetti should have been playing Schmidt-Lausitz instead of Joseph Offenbach. His (the director's?) interpretation of this role met with an even greater diversity of opinion. On the positive side were Drommert and Sanden. The former described Offenbach's as 'eine der eindrucksvollsten Leistungen des Abends',⁶⁶ and the latter

thought he was 'großartig'. But the weight of opinion was negative, balanced less against Offenbach's acting than the interpretation of the role. According to a number of commentators the Hamburg production did nothing to compensate for the weaknesses in Zuckmayer's characterization. Indeed, they were accentuated: Schmidt-Lausitz became a caricature. After praising some of the more minor roles, the Hamburger Allgemeine continued: 'Um so bedauerlicher war die Verzeichnung des "Kulturleiters", dem Joseph Offenbach die Maske eines ganz auf Karikierung abgestellten kleinen Amtswalters lieh, um nicht zu sagen eines "Treppenterriers", wie es im Volksmund hieß'.⁶⁸

The reasons for this interpretation are understandable. Less than three years earlier the real Schmidt-Lausitzs were all too present in Germany and the temptation for both actors and directors was to disassociate themselves from such contemptible figures (the "Kulturleiter" is also a Gestapo intermediary). One way of achieving this was to make him into a caricature. Failure to treat the contemptible characters as equals, however, can lead to serious misrepresentations of the play's intentions and Hamburg did not avoid this trap.

With one exception none of the critics offers any information about the set. Zuckmayer's notes are extensive and according to the Hamburger Echo, the designer Karl Gröning, was at pains to comply. Costumes and props presented an enormous problem in 1947. Those who would have preferred not to see Nazi uniforms on stage at all nearly won their case by default, although after efforts lasting more than six months Drommert was able to report: 'Robert Meyn spielte, wie sämtliche Offiziere und Parteifunktionäre in einwandfreier Uniform und mit allen Ehrenzeichen, den General'.⁶⁹ Sixteen uniforms were required including eight officers' uniforms. Two were lent in response

to requests enclosed in the programmes of other productions at the Deutsches Schauspielhaus. Air force jackets were also lent but no-one could spare the trousers which had to be made out of other material and dyed. As Der Spiegel noted on 15 November 1947:

Die größte Schwierigkeit bereitete die Beschaffung der Generalsuniform einschließlich Mütze und lammfellgefüttertem Mantel. Dem Ex-General, der sie schließlich zur Verfügung stellte, bringt sie dafür auch eine hübsche kleine Monatsleihgebühr von netto 450 Mark ein.⁷⁰

It is an irony that the theatre which considered one of its aims to be the final defeat of National Socialism should have been forced to support a Nazi general in order to fulfil this aim.

Two weeks after the German premiere in Hamburg, Frankfurt also saw their premiere of Des Teufels General at the Städtische Bühnen. It was directed by Zuckmayer's friend Heinz Hilpert and considered by many to be the genuine German premiere. Certainly, in his memoirs Zuckmayer concentrated his attention on the opening night at the Börsensaal in Frankfurt:

Die Schauspieler waren alle mit einem brennenden Eifer bei der Sache, obwohl manche vor Hunger dem körperlichen Zusammenbruch nah waren (...) Der Abend der Erstaufführung stand unter dem Zeichen einer ungewöhnlichen, fast unheimlichen Spannung. Überall wurde schon seit den Schweizer Aufführungen von dem Stück geredet. Wie würde das deutsche Publikum es aufnehmen? Viele Kontrolloffiziere der Besatzungsmächte saßen an diesem Abend dabei, mißtrauisch und skeptisch. Doch sie erlebten wie wir den Ausbruch einer allgemeinen Erschütterung, wie sie nur selten von einem Theaterstück erregt werden kann.⁷¹

Zuckmayer's final comment is echoed by a number of commentators. Emil Belzner credited the production with 'erzieherische Qualitäten',⁷² revealing that the question of guilt could not simply be disposed of by applauding at the end of the performance. Paul Friedrich Weber thought that the production had proved 'Theater ist trotz Hunger, Not und Elend entscheidend für uns. Es reinigt, klärt und scheidet die Geister: es schärft die Gewissen, es ruft zur Beäinnung auf und hilft mit, ein neues Menschenbild zu schaffen'.⁷³

Clearly these responses are different from those of Hamburg's reviewers as a consequence no doubt of the different production Hilpert created. Like Brandenburg Hilpert cut the text, especially in the second act, but left the scene with the silent workers in Act III. By cutting the scenes featuring Harras as lover, he concentrated the audience's attention on Harras as soldier and on the problematic nature of the concept of duty. This interpretation was not a repeat of Hilpert's first handling of the play in Zürich where more stress had been laid on the humorous, spectacular aspects of the play; in Frankfurt Hilpert emphasized its ideas. Why he made the changes is not easy to determine. He may have felt his first version was not in the true spirit of the work although it is also possible that he thought it unsuitable for German audiences both because of the subject matter and the conditions in the country.

One of the aspects of his new approach was casting. Just as in Hamburg it was not a star - in the sense that Gustav Knuth in Zürich was a star - who was selected to play Harras but an accomplished actor, until then essentially bon vivant: Martin Held. The critics were united in their praise:

Seine schlanke, an den Schläfen ergraute
Gestalt ist von Anfang an beschattet. Das
Feuerwerk an giftigem Witz gegen die
Partei versprüht nicht aus lachendem Hals,
sondern eher schnodderig, gleichsam zwischen
den Zähnen. Umso Überzeugender wird der
Handlungsverlauf der beiden folgenden Akte.⁷⁴

Weber referred to Held as the 'ideale Besetzung',⁷⁵ and Belzner
claimed he was 'eine Entdeckung'.⁷⁶

One of the ways in which the production emphasized the ideas
of the play was by highlighting the interchanges between Harras
and Schmidt-Lausitz. Erich Musil's "Kulturleiter" was an equal
partner to Martin Held's Harras. More than Joseph Offenbach in
Hamburg, Musil managed to breathe life into the character,
compensating for the shortcomings of Zuckmayer's prototype. All
suggestions of caricature were avoided. This was achieved at the
expense of some of the humorous moments but was exactly in tune
with the seriousness of the production. B. E. Werner claimed:
'dieser Schwarzuniformierte war nicht lächerlich, er war
gefährlich'.⁷⁷

The praise for Otto Rouvel who played Oderbruch was not so
undivided. Several papers did not consider his performance worthy
of comment at all. Those which did, pinpointed the weakness in
the characterization but accused Rouvel of being unconvincing too.
Only Rudolf Lubowski in Die Bühnenkritik thought he had presented
a 'Musterleistung'.⁷⁸ Complete unanimity existed in the press
reactions to the female roles at the Frankfurt production if they
were mentioned at all. 'Sämtliche Frauenrollen waren eine
schmerzhaftes Enttäuschung',⁷⁹ according to Die Weltbühne. Little
attention was paid to the set either. Only Weber noted that Frank
Schultes had created 'atmosphärisch hervorragende Bühnenbilder'.⁸⁰

In the majority of cases, reception of Des Teufels General in the Western Zones was extremely positive. It was not produced in the Russian Zone at all but did appear in Berlin. Strictly, this production barely falls within the scope of this study as it did not open until mid-July 1948. It is worth mentioning however, because of the contrast in the audiences' but especially in the critics' responses to the play by comparison with the Western Zones. Later Des Teufels General became popular there too, but in 1948 it did not enjoy the same resounding success.⁸¹

It was directed by Boleslaw Barlog at the Schloßpark Theater in Steglitz. Prior to 1945 Barlog had been a film director and this, combined with the fact that the theatre usually concentrated on lightweight works, proved unfortunate preconditions for the production of Des Teufels General. Barlog tried to stress the serious aspects of the play and in doing so went too far in suppressing its humour and vitality. Applied to the play as a whole this led to the abrogation of the very ideas he wished to emphasize: the critics were agreed that his concept did nothing 'die Problematik des Stückes herauszuarbeiten. Man hatte das Gefühl, als habe er dauernd absichtlich gedämpft (...) Szenen, die bei der Lektüre (...) erregend wirkten (...) bekamen hier fast gar keine Konturen'.⁸² And this was the comment of Walther Karsch, not one of the hostile left-wing critics. While there was some justification for mellowing the tone of the first act - especially in 1948 when there was still some doubt as to what effect a scene of this kind might have on the audience - Barlog's reticence went so far that even the reviewers who pointed out the danger of making the act too spectacular felt it necessary to comment: 'Boleslaw Barlog hatte das Fest weniger rauschend genommen,

als es verdiente',⁸³ and Walter Lennig noted: 'Das große Saufgelage des ersten Akts hätte entschieden etwas bacchantischer ausfallen können'.⁸⁴ The second and third acts were played equally piano and rather laboured despite considerable cuts. Amongst the cuts was that of a complete role: Buddy Lawrence. Lennig especially regretted this loss which did indeed mean the exclusion of at least two minor but quite important scenes and some significant dialogue.⁸⁵

Unsuited to the role, despite his many qualities as an actor, was the Berlin Harras: O. E. Hasse. It is difficult to determine to what extent this reflected the director's interpretation rather than Hasse's inherent unsuitability. All the commentators praise his voice control and modulation but his portrayal of Harras was very intellectual, lacking vitality and, according to Friedrich Luft, 'die elementar überrennende Wucht',⁸⁶ demanded by the part.

The responses to Schmidt-Lausitz and Oderbruch were very negative. All were agreed that Otto Mathies as the former was unconvincing. Luft described him as stiff with a tendency towards caricature.⁸⁷ Paul Wagner's Oderbruch received a little more acclaim, his failure to put life into the figure being firmly ascribed to the nature of the part and the fact that several passages of dialogue were cut from the decisive scenes with Harras.

The undoubted weaknesses in direction alone, however, would not be an adequate explanation for the negative response of the reviewers or, what they reported to be, the less than euphoric reactions of early audiences. According to Lennig: 'Von einer ungewöhnlich enthusiastischen Aufnahme konnte im Steglitzer Theater nicht die Rede sein - eine gewisse Verlegenheit und Befangenheit war öfters unverkennbar'.⁸⁸ The reception of the play in Berlin is symptomatic

of the political role of theatre criticism there. It came more than a year after the arguments surrounding Die russische Frage which had ended the cultural peace between the Allies, and was thus anathema to the critics of the Left. Nevertheless, the liberal and conservative press was also circumspect. All of them were affected by the actual political situation in the city. The premieres at the Schloßpark Theater took place just a few weeks after the beginning of the blockade of Berlin on 24 June 1948. The city was completely cut off, an island surrounded by an impenetrable Russian Zone. In July 1948 Berlin was still reverberating from the shock of having the blockade imposed and it was quite unclear how it would end, whether the British and Americans would continue flying-in goods and food, and what the eventual fate of Berlin would be. The extreme situation of the time focused attention away from the past and fixed it firmly on the present with a huge query about the future. Thus while the themes dealt with in Des Teufels General were still valid, they were completely overshadowed by the more acute problems of the day.

Des Teufels General proves once again how untypical Berlin was. In the Western Zones the play really was seen as an answer to the call for new German drama discussed earlier. It was the work of an emigré but it was written for the desk drawer and represented continuity with a pre-fascist, untainted period. Zuckmayer revealed himself as the guide and mentor demanded by a theatre which conceived of its role as educational. He offered hope for the future and even indicated through his own identification with the German countryside and people, ways in which a new national German identity might be created. The exceptional response to Des Teufels General reflects the fact that, for all its shortcomings, it fulfilled the expectations not only of theatre people and audiences but even of most critics.

NOTES

Successes from Abroad

1. H. Hilpert, Vom Sinn und Wesen des Theaters in unserer Zeit (Hamburg, 1946), p.20.
2. F. Lusset, "Französische Theaterstücke in Deutschland" in H. Jhering, ed., Theaterstadt Berlin (Berlin, 1948), p.107.
3. W. Panofsky, "Erde und Himmel sind noch geblieben" in W. A. Peters, ed., Die Quelle, 3 (1947), p.90.
4. Stobbe noted: 'Gerade in der französischen Dramatik ist heute der Tod so zu Hause, wie man in Deutschland zu Hause bei den Toten ist'.

R. Stobbe, "Europäisches Theater-deutsche Situation" in P. T. Hoffmann, ed., Hamburger Jahrbuch für Theater und Musik 1947/48 (Hamburg, 1947), p.106.
5. W. Koch, "Zu Grundfragen des Spielplans" in A. Dahlmann, ed., Der Theater-Almanach 1947 (München, 1947), p.57.
6. Anouilh's immediate predecessor and paradigm in this tradition was Giraudoux, a master of the intellectual drama of words which he saw as the essence of French theatre:

((Le Français)) vient à la comédie pour écouter et s'y fatigue si on l'oblige surtout à voir. En fait, il croit à la parole et il ne croit pas au décor. Ou plutôt, il croit que les grands débats du cœur ne se règlent pas à coups de lumière et d'ombre, d'effondrements et de catastrophes, mais par la conversation... Pour le Français, l'âme peut s'ouvrir de la façon la plus logique, comme un coffre-fort, par un mot: par le mot ...

J. Giraudoux "Le metteur en scène" in K. Schoell,
Das französische Drama seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg I
(Göttingen, 1970), p.14.

Antigone is clear evidence of Anouilh's adherence to
Giraudoux's ideal. Thematically, too, he used Greek
mythology as one source for his writing as did Giraudoux's
great inspiration Gide and later Sartre.

7. T. M. Jacquemar, "Besuch bei Jean Anouilh" in Die Zeit,
14.11.1946.
8. J. Anouilh, Antigone (Paris, 1946), p.88.
9. Anouilh, p.130.
10. Anouilh, p.98.
11. F. Erpenbeck, "Mißverständene Antigone" in Deutsche
Volkszeitung, 27.7.1946.
12. Erpenbeck, 27.7.1946.
13. Anouilh, Antigone, translated by F. Geiger (München, 1968), p.45.
14. The three insertions in the German text can be found on
pp.20-1/22 ("Höre Hämon ... Lach jetzt nicht. Sei ernst"/
"Eine richtige Frau ... Du weißt doch, daß ich dich gern
habe...So wie du bist") corresponding to pp.40-1/42-3 in
the original; p.39 ("Möchtest du denn so gerne
sterben? ... Du siehst jetzt schon aus wie ein kleines
gehetztes Reh") corresponding to p.78 in the original;
pp.44-5 ("Mach dich nur lustig ... hindere mich nicht
an der meinen") corresponding to pp.89-90 in the original.
15. Cf. for example, Erpenbeck, 27.7.1946. and H. U. Eylan,
"Traktat vom humanen Unmenschen" in Tägliche Rundschau,
26.7.1946.
16. F. Wolf, "Grundelemente des Dramas" in Jhering, ed., p.52.

17. Insertion in German text, scene featuring Antigone and Kreon:

Kreon: (betrachtet sie schweigend) Möchtest du denn so gerne sterben? (Tu as donc bien envie de mourir?)

Antigone: Nein; aber ich weiß, daß ich nur so meine Pflicht erfüllen kann.

Kreon: Deine Pflicht! Du bist ja noch ein ganz kleines Mädchen, das schwächteste von Theben. Bis jetzt verlangt man nur von dir, daß du schön bist und lachst. Wer hat sie dir denn auferlegt, diese Pflicht?

Antigone: Niemand, ich mir selbst.

Kreon: Du hast etwas zu viel Empfindsamkeit und Phantasie. Wahrscheinlich erschien dir in der Nacht der verzweifelte Schatten des Polyneikos mit seinen klaffenden Wunden. Und in der Dunkelheit sagtest du dir immer wieder vor: Ich bin seine Schwester, ich bin seine Schwester, ich muß, ich muß es tun. Bis du dir selbst genügend Mut gemacht hattest. Und jetzt stehst du vor mir, die Nerven angespannt, blickst mich mit deinen schwarzen Augen wild an und willst mir trotzen. Deine ganzen Kräfte, die noch viel zu schwach sind, verwendest du auf dieses Spiel. Aber wenn nachher meine Wächter kommen und dich mit ihren großen derben Händen ergreifen, dann wirst du zusammenbrechen und bitterlich weinen.

Antigone: Das ist möglich. Aber was tut das? Dann muß man mich eben weinen lassen.

Kreon: Du siehst jetzt schon aus wie ein kleines gehetztes Reh. (Tu as déjà l'air d'un petit gibier pris.)

Anouilh (Geiger), p.39/Anouilh, p.78.

18. Le Prologue: Quelquefois, le soir, il est fatigué, et il se demande s'il n'est pas vain de conduire les hommes. Si cela n'est pas un office sordide qu'on doit laisser à d'autres, plus frustes... Et puis, au matin, des problèmes précis se posent, qu'il faut résoudre, et il se lève, tranquille, comme un ouvrier au seuil de sa journée.

Anouilh, p.11.

19. A. Dahlmann, "Jean Anouilh: Antigone" in Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2.7.1946.
20. Anouilh, p.99.
21. Cf., for example, J. S. Dang, "Das große Wochenende des Darmstädter Theaters" in Darmstädter Echo, 3.4.1946 or E. Belzner, "Jean Anouilh: Antigone" in Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung, 7.4.1946.
22. Dang, 3.4.1946.
23. Anouilh, p.115.
24. Dang, 3.4.1946.
25. Dahlmann, 2.7.1946.
26. P. Wiegler, "Antigone von Anouilh" in Nachtextexpress, 26.7.1946.
27. It should be noted that in the context of the Berlin production, Wiegler's was an isolated comment.
28. In the Paris premiere at the Théâtre de l'Atelier on 4 February 1944, directed and designed by André Barsacq, the actors wore simple evening dresses and tails. The stage was empty except for a couple of stools surrounded by a horizon of black hangings with two white steps in a semi-circle around the stage.
Jaquemar, 14.11.1946.
29. W. Karsch, "Im Zwielficht der Moderne" in Tagesspiegel, 27.7.46.
30. Eylan, 26.7.1946.
31. Karsch, 27.7.1946.
32. W. Fiedler, "Das Opfer" in Neue Zeit, 27.7.46.
33. Cf., for example, Karsch, 27.7.1946; Fiedler, 27.7.1946; Eylan, 26.7.1946; Erpenbeck, 27.7.1946; W. Lennig, "Antigone muß sterben" in Berliner Zeitung, 28.7.1946.

34. Erpenbeck, 27.7.1946.
35. Eylan, 26.7.1946.
36. Anouilh (Geiger), p.64.
37. Fiedler, 27.7.1946.
38. Belzner, 7.4.1946.
39. Unsigned, "Antigone" in newspaper unknown, 11.10.1946.
40. Unsigned, 11.10.1946 and Dahlmann, 2.7.1946.
41. Examples include Sorge's Odysseus of 1909, Werfel's Troerinnen of 1915 and Hasenclever's Antigone of 1916.

NOTES

Thornton Wilder: Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen - The Skin of our Teeth

1. Hessisches Landestheater Darmstadt, ed., "An unsere Besucher", introduction to German premiere of Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen, 31.3.1946.
2. E. Kästner, "Theater in der Nachkriegszeit" in Die neue Zeitung, 24.1.1947.
3. T. Wilder, preface to Our Town, The Skin of our Teeth, The Matchmaker (Harmondsworth, 1980), p.8.
4. Wilder, pp.8-10.
5. It is worth noting that Wilder spent a couple of years studying archaeology in Rome, just at the time Sechs Personen suchen einen Autor was first performed there on 10 May 1921.
6. Wilder, p.13.
7. Wilder, The Skin of Our Teeth, Act I, p.101.
8. Hessisches Landestheater Darmstadt, 31.3.1946.
9. The only specific link between Faust and Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen is that Sabina's alter-ego Lily, who is presumably intended to recall Adam's other wife Lilith, features as Lilith in the Walpurgisnacht scene from Faust I. Goethe makes Lilith Adam's first wife and ascribes to her the seductive powers characteristic of Wilder's Lily who, however, is made Mr Antrobus's second wife in Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen. The exact derivation of Lilith is unclear. In Judaism two accounts of the creation of woman are recognized: Genesis I, 27: 'So God created man in his own image; in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them' and Genesis II, 18-25 in which woman is described, as being formed from one of Adam's ribs. The

first creation is thought to be Lilith, the latter Eve. Lilith appears in daemonic form both as a female demon in Jewish mythology as well as in her relationship to Adam by whom she is said to have begotten demons. H. J. Schoeps defines the figure as follows:

Die Lilith ist ein weiblicher Dämon, von der Volksetymologie als Nachtgespenst (...) aufgefaßt, Jes. 34.14 wird die Lilith unter den bösen Tieren und Geistern genannt, die am Tag der Rache Gottes die Erde verwüsten werden. Der Talmud schildert sie als ein Weib mit menschlichem Antlitz, Flügeln (...) und langen Haaren (...) Die Legende läßt sie Adams zweite Frau und Stammutter der Dämonen werden. Daher begegnen als Gattungsbegriff die לילית , (...) Nachtdämonen, die zur sinnlichen Begierde und Unzucht reizen.

H. J. Schoeps, Aus frühchristlicher Zeit (Berlin, 1950), p.93.

10. In the introduction to the Darmstadt production it was noted:
'Wilder kennt, von seiner Ausbildung her die europäischen Theaterformen aller Zeiten'. Hessisches Landestheater Darmstadt, 31.3.1946.
11. Cf. Kästner, 24.1.1947.
12. K. Stroux quoted in unsigned article entitled "Brücke zur anderen Geisteswelt", newspaper and date unknown, Theatermuseum, Universität Köln.
13. H. Jhering, Theater der produktiven Widersprüche (Berlin, 1967), p.65.
14. Stroux, "Brücke zur anderen Geisteswelt".
15. Wilder, preface, p.13.
16. It was not first performed, as is often claimed, on 18 November 1942, at the Plymouth Theater, New York. This production, which was directed by Elia Kazan, followed the New Haven premiere.
Incorrectly cited in e.g. H. Beckmann, Wilder, (Velbert, 1966), p.133;

- H. Rischbieter, "Davongekommen?" in Theater heute 4/83, p.43.
17. Unsigned, "Ein Zeitstück aus Amerika" in Hamburger Allgemeine Zeitung, 25.3.47.
18. Hamburger Allgemeine Zeitung, 25.3.47.
19. Wilder, preface, p.13.
20. Wilder, preface, p.13.
21. Freiburg: e.g. Unsigned, "Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen" in Nouvelles de France, 30.1.1948.
- Köln: e.g. W. Höfer, "Verbrennt alles außer Shakespeare" in Rheinischer Merkur, 24.5.1947.
- Berlin: e.g. L. Lorsch, "Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen" in Vorwärts, 8.7.46.
22. W. Seringhaus, "Götter in Reparatur" in Der Tagespiegel, 18.4.1946.
23. She wrote: 'Das Publikum war bisweilen ratlos vor solchem Spectaculum. Aber es spürte doch die Leidenschaft der Anklage in der Warnung'. H. Weber, "Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen" in newspaper unknown, April 1946.
24. Fiedler, "Es geht uns alle an" in Neue Zeit, 7.7.46.
25. Hofer, 24.5.47.
26. Dr. W. Pollatscheck, "Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen" in Frankfurter Rundschau, No. 57/47.
27. Spontaneous applause noted in I. Jung, "Chronik der Katastrophen" in Tägliche Rundschau, 7.7.46 and G. Zivier, "Weltuntergangspanthastik im Hebbel-Theater" in Telegraf, 7.7.46.

28. Wilder, Act III, p.169.
29. R. Goldmann, "Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen" in Gießener Freie Presse, No. 75/47.
30. Zivier, 7.7.46.
31. W. Lewin, "Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen" in Start, date unknown.
32. National Socialist theatre had served a number of purposes not least of which were representation, pomp and propaganda. Another important purpose was referred to by Heinz Hilpert as the 'Narkotisierung Kritischer Gemüter'. H. Hilpert, Vom Sinn und Wesen des Theaters in unserer Zeit (Hamburg, 1946), p.12.
33. Wilder, Act I, p.102.
34. Städtische Bühnen Frankfurt, ed., programme of Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen (Frankfurt, 1946/47).
35. Wilder, preface, p.13.
36. Wilder, Act I, p.126.
37. Wilder, Act II, p.135.
38. Wilder, Act III, p.167-8.
39. In 1983 Henning Rischbieter presented these photographs in his article on Stroux's Berlin production of Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen in Theater heute. Since little can be gained from a recapitulation of his findings, no attempt will be made to analyse this production in any detail. As the pictorial information is, however, too valuable and too rare to neglect, reference will be made to aspects of the production revealed by the photographs in so far as they are of relevance to the point under discussion.

H. Rischbieter, p.43ff. Photographs viewed at Theater heute archive, Berlin, 15.10.1985.

40. 1. Hessisches Landestheater Darmstadt, premiere 31.3.1946.
2. Hebbel-Theater Berlin, premiere 5.7.1946.
3. Hessisches Staatstheater Wiesbaden, premiere 28.9.1946.
41. Kästner, 24.1.47.
42. Since Stroux took practically the whole ensemble with him when he left Darmstadt for Wiesbaden in late 1946 and the cast of Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen was more or less identical, it is reasonable to assume that this production was very similar, too.
43. Wilder, Act I, p.119.
44. L. Nichols, "The Play" in The New York Times, 19.11.42.
45. Unsigned, "Mr Antrobus und die Weltgeschichte" in Hamburger Echo, 25.3.47.
46. Unsigned, "Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen" in Rhein-Echo, 6.1.48.
47. Wilder, Act I, p.121.
48. Nichols, 19.11.42, but also picture article "Wilder and Wilder!" in New York Times Magazine, 1.11.1942.
49. H. Braun, "Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen" in Die Zeit, 16.1.47.
50. W. Karsch, "Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen" in Der Tagesspiegel, 7.7.46.
51. Unsigned, "Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen" in Bonner Universitätszeitung, No.21/47.
52. Wilder, Act III, p.164.
53. F. Luft in RIAS, 6.7.46.
54. Hamburger Allgemeine Zeitung, 25.3.47.
55. Luft, 6.7.1946.

56. R. Drommert, "Hamburger Theater-Lenz" in Hamburger Freie Presse, 29.3.47.
57. Gerhard Schulte who loathed the Hamburg production noted that it was 'gespickt mit snobistischen Einfällen, albernen Gags und, 'aktuellen' Anspielungen aus dem Bezirk der Kalorien und Nissenhütten'.
G. Schulte, "Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen" in Hannoversche Presse, 22.4.47.
58. Wilder, Act I, p.117.
59. Wilder, Mit knapper Not, translated by G. Gebser, archive of Neue Schauspiel AG, Zürich.
60. F. March quoted in C. Hughes, "The Antrobi at home" in The New York Times, 13.12.1943.
61. Amerikanische Nachrichtenkontrolle, Theater-und Musikabteilung, OMGUS, ed., Amerikanische Theaterstücke (Berlin, 1948), p.15.
62. F. Erpenbeck, "Enge und Verarmung" in Lebendiges Theater (Berlin, DDR, 1949), p.166.
63. Erpenbeck, p.166.
64. W. Langhoff, "Dichtung und Tendenz" in Städtische Bühnen Düsseldorf, ed., Die Bühne I (Düsseldorf, 1946/46).
65. Erpenbeck, "Formalismus und Dekandenz" in Lebendiges Theater, pp.39-40.
66. Cf. also Jhering, p.65 or the anonymous critic of the Hamburger Volkszeitung (29.3.1947); also Friedrich Wolf's "Grundelemente des Dramas" in Jhering, ed., Theaterstadt Berlin (Berlin, 1948).
67. Unsigned, "Kulturnachrichten" in Die Welt, 18.12.1947.

68. Unsigned, "Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen" in Hamburger Volkszeitung, 29.3.1947.
69. In the Schriften zum Theater Brecht summarizes the problem as follows:

Zu seiner (Schillers) Zeit hatte das Publikum nichts gegen das Moralisieren einzuwenden. Erst später beschimpfte ihn Friedrich Nietzsche als den Moraltrumpeter von Säckingen. Nietzsche schien die Beschäftigung mit Moral eine trübselige Angelegenheit. Schiller erblickte darin eine durchaus vergnügliche. Er kannte nichts, was amüsanter und befriedigender sein konnte, als Ideale zu propagieren.

- B. Brecht, Schriften zum Theater (Berlin & Frankfurt, 1961), p.70.
70. B. Atkinson "Skin of our Teeth" in The New York Times, 22.11.42.
71. Jhering, p.65.
72. Kästner, 24.1.1947.
73. Hamburger Echo, 25.4.1947.
74. Opinions included:
- 'ein grandioses Lehrstück' (E. Belzner, "Wilder: Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen" in Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung, 8.4.1946)
 - 'Weltweites, wahrhaft humanes Denken, von dem wir Deutschen mit Gewalt entwöhnt werden sollten, das können wir von diesem Amerikaner lernen.' (Hessisches Landestheater Darmstadt, 31.3.1946)
 - 'Das sonderbarste und erregendste Stück Theater, das seit Kriegsende in Berlin zu sehen war (...) Und wenn der Dichter die Aufgabe hat, Ursituationen des Menschlichen jedem sichtbar zu machen, zu erschrecken und dadurch zu bessern: hier gelang es.'
- (F. Luft, 6.7.1946)

- 'In Ehrfurcht bekennen wir: ecce poeta, siehe, der Dichter, auf den wir hören müssen.' (Bonner Universitätszeitung, 21/47)
 - 'eine der größten und erschütterndsten Dichtungen unserer Zeit' (W. Pollatschek, "Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen" in Frankfurter Rundschau, 57/47).
75. F. Harnack, Die Aufgaben des deutschen Theaters in der Gegenwart (München, 1946), p.15.
 76. Städtische Bühnen Frankfurt, 1946/47.
 77. Luft, 6.7.1946.
 78. Der aktuelle Dienst, ed., Die Bühnenkritik, 2 (1948).
 79. In his article in Theater heute Henning Rischbieter claims that Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen only came after Leuchtfeuer, Das Lied der Taube, Biographie und Liebe, and Drei Mann auf einem Pferd but he neither mentions where nor during which period. Rischbieter, p.43.
 80. J. S. Dang, "Das große Wochenende des Darmstädter Theaters" in Darmstädter Echo, 3.4.1946.
 81. Seringhaus, 18.4.1946.
 82. H. Weber called it 'eine hervorragende Aufführung'. Weber, April 1946.
 83. Dang, 3.4.1946.
 84. Belzner, 8.4.1946.
 85. G. Rühle, Zeit und Theater 1933-1945, 5 (Frankfurt/Berlin, 1980), p.63.
 86. Dang, 3.4.1946.
 87. The parallels between Faust and Peer Gynt are generally accepted. Indeed, Peer Gynt has often been referred to as the "Nordic Faust", although the characters of the two figures are different. To make comparisons between Mr. Antrobus and Peer Gynt is of dubious legitimacy.

88. Unsigned, "Triumph des Theaters" in Die Welt, 30.4.46.
89. Kästner, 5.4.46.
90. Kästner, 5.4.46.
91. Kästner, 5.4.46.
92. In a short biography included in the Theater-Almanach 1947,
Dr. Otto Herrmann listed Kästner's fields of activity: 'Kabarett,
Film, Hörspiel, Theater, Regisseur, Sprecher, Schauspieler,
Bühnenbildner'. O. Herrmann, "Helmut Kästner" in A. Dahlmann, ed.,
Theater-Almanach 1947, (München, 1948), p.264.
93. Schulte, 22.4.47.
94. Schulte, 22.4.47.
95. O. P. Uelzen, "Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen" in Rheinische
Illustrierte, 29/47.
96. P. Sackardt, "Höhepunkte einer Spielzeit" in Dr. P. T. Hoffmann,
ed., Hamburger Jahrbuch für Theater und Musik 1948/49 (Hamburg, 1949),
p.50.
97. Hamburger Echo, 25.3.47.
98. Hamburger Echo, 25.3.47.
99. Hamburger Allgemeine Zeitung, 25.3.47.
100. Hamburger Volkszeitung, 29.3.47.
101. R. Drommert, "Hamburgs Schauspielbühnen nach dem Kriege" in
Hoffmann, Hamburger Jahrbuch für Theater und Musik 1947/48
p.83.
102. Drommert, 29.3.1947.
103. Herrmann in Dahlmann, 1947, p.264.
104. Lorsch, 8.7.1946.
105. Schulte, 22.4.1947.
106. Drommert, 29.3.1947.

107. Schulte, 22.4.1947.
108. Hamburger Echo, 25.3.1947.
109. Hamburger Allgemeine Zeitung, 25.3.1947.
110. H. Schmidt, "Liebeserklärung an eine alte Dame" in Die Zeit,
4.10.1985.

NOTES

Thunder Rock

1. R. Ardrey, Thunder Rock (London, 1976), Act III, p.75.
2. H. C. Allen, "America in World Affairs" in D. Welland, ed.,
The United States (London, 1974), p.224.
3. Ardrey, Act III, p.74.
4. In the 1945-1946 season Leuchtfener was produced at theatres
in the following towns and cities: Berlin, Bremen, Bremerhaven,
Düsseldorf, Essen, Frankfurt, Gießen, Hamburg, Heidelberg, Köln,
Memmingen, München, Stuttgart, Ulm, Wuppertal.
5. Interview with Ida Ehre, Hamburg, 12.5.1982.
6. Unsigned, "Ein Problemstück aus Amerika" in Neue Zeitung, 31.5.1946.
7. Ardrey, Act III, p.75.
8. Since the play is little known today a summary of the plot is
being included.
9. Ardrey, Act I, p.20.
10. Ardrey, Act I, p.24.
11. Ardrey, Act I, p.24.
12. Ardrey, Act II, p.58.
13. Ardrey, Act II, pp.59-60.
14. Ardrey, Act III, p.65.
15. Ardrey, Act III, p.70.
16. Ardrey, Act III, p.75.
17. Cf. H. Gehring, Amerikanische Literaturpolitik in Deutschland 1945-1953
(Stuttgart, 1976), p.68.
18. Amerikanische Nachrichtenkontrolle, Theater-und Musikabteilung,
OMGUS (B. D. Frank), ed., Amerikanische Theaterstücke (Berlin, 1948),
p.23.

19. R. Drommert, "Eröffnung der Kammerspiele" in Hamburger Nachrichten-Blatt, 11.12.1945.
20. Unsigned, "I hear America singing..." in Stuttgarter Zeitung, 7.5.1946.
21. R. Bach, "Robert Ardrey: Leuchtfeuer" in Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7.11.1945.
22. F. Luft, "Robert Ardrey: Leuchtfeuer" in Allgemeine Zeitung, 7.11.1945.
23. Unsigned, "Amerikanisches Zeit -, Problem -, und Lehrstück" in Der Allgäuer, 12.6.1946.
24. It is interesting that the age-old debate on Germany and Hamlet, dating back to Goethe, should be taken up again at the earliest opportunity in post-war Germany. For an informative survey of the Hamlet-debate see Walter Muschg, "Deutschland ist Hamlet" in H. Heuer, ed., Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft-West, Jahrbuch 1965 (Heidelberg, 1965), p.32ff.

It does not, however, seem likely that the Memmingen critic was implying a parallel between Hamlet's fate and Germany's. The parallel is restricted to Hamlet and Charleston. Nor was it the beginning of a major new Hamlet-debate; other critics did not draw the same parallel.

25. H. Arno, "Leuchtfeuer" in Vollsstimme, 15.4.1946.

Arno was not alone in his reference to Faust. The critic of the Neue Zeitung, for example, reviewing the München production also claimed that Charleston, in trying to decide whether it was worth returning to the real world, was dealing with 'der (...) faustischen Frage.'

Neue Zeitung, 31.5.1946.

26. Amerikanische Nachrichtenkontrolle, Theater-und Musikabteilung, p.22.
27. Conversation with the "Lektor", Ahn & Simrock, München, 6.6.1984.
28. Firstly, there is no evidence of any other translation apart from that by Frank/Ruddy. Secondly, it can be assumed that it was this text of the play which Wolfgang Langhoff took with him to Düsseldorf in 1945, having played the role of Charleston in Zürich. Every effort was made to obtain a copy of the play from those theatres which produced it in the immediate post-war years - without success.
29. Ardrey, Act I, p.15.
30. Ardrey/Frank, Leuchfeuer (Berlin, 1954), Act I, p.18.
31. Ardrey, Act I, p.13.
32. Ardrey/Frank, Act I, p.16.
33. A further example can be found at the very end of the first act when Captain Joshua appears for the first time. Charleston calls out in order to establish that it is the Scottish Captain and in English Joshua answers: 'Ay, man' (Act I, p.32). His German equivalent, Josua, replies: 'Armer Mann' (Act I, p.44).
34. Ardrey, Act II, p.40ff but esp.42-3. Ardrey/Frank, Act II, p.55ff but esp.56-7.
35. Compare:

Melanie: Some day Papa strikes back - perhaps (Act II, p.40)

with

Melanie: Vielleicht wird es Papa einmal einsehen...die nütz-
lose Arbeit aufgeben. (Act II, p.55).

36. Ardrey, Act II, p.41.
37. Ardrey/Frank, Act II, p.57.
38. Compare the three consecutive pieces of dialogue beginning
Kurtz: The problem is difficult ...
and ending
Kurtz: One of your leaders will soon be found ...
Ardrey, Act III, pp.70-1.
Ardrey/Frank, Act III, pp.102-3.
39. Ardrey, Act I, p.12.
40. Ardrey/Frank, Act I, p.14.
41. Ardrey, Act III, p.74.
42. Ardrey, Act II, p.57.
Ardrey/Frank, Act II, p.81.
43. Ardrey, Act I, p.9.
Ardrey/Frank, Act I, p.11.
44. Ardrey, Act I, p.22.
45. Ardrey/Frank, Act I, p.28.
46. Ardrey/Frank, Act I, p.28.
47. Ardrey/Frank, Act II, p.48.
48. The following lines are deleted, for example:
Joshua: If you're so satisfied with your handiwork, why do I
speak what I do? I make no move, I speak no
word, that comes not to your mind first.(Act II, p.43)
and
Joshua: Man, why was it you brought us here? So you could
live among us, a useful citizen, an occupation
in your own times denied you. (Act II, p.45)
49. "Magisches Theater" was not exclusively American. The term can
also be used to describe works by French playwrights such as Anouilh and
C Claudel although some German commentators differentiated between the
"surrealistisches Theater" of France and a purely American "magisches
Theater". Cf. for example, F. C. Kobbe in his article "Zur Situation

- des deutschen Dramas in der Gegenwart" in A. Dahlmann, ed.,
Der Theater-Almanach 1947 (München, 1947), p.32.
50. G. Groll, "Das magische Theater" in A. Dahlmann, ed., Der Theater-Almanach 1946/47 (München, 1946), p.258.
51. J. P. Sartre quoted in M. Dietrich, Das moderne Drama (Stuttgart, 1974), p.301.
52. Sartre, "Vorwort" to Die Fliegen (Reinbek, 1985).
53. Dr. F. Harnack, Die Aufgaben des deutschen Theaters in der Gegenwart München, 1946), p.15.
54. "Heiteres von Peter Michal" in F. Erpenbeck, ed., Theaterdienst, 52 (1947), p.14.
55. Cf. 49.
56. Ardrey, Act I, p.25.
57. Ardrey, Act I, p.43.
58. In the introduction to his résumé Langhoff noted: 'Die Neuartigkeit dieser Dramatik mag für manchen unserer Besucher etwas Befremdliches haben, ja, es wird vielleicht schwer sein, sie zu verstehen'.
W. Langhoff, "Zur Premiere von Leuchtfeuer am 30 Mai 1946" in Die Bühne, 30.5.1946.
59. Unsigned, "Kritische Rundschau", in Rheinische Post, 1.6.1946.
60. Unsigned, "Leuchtfeuer in eine bessere Zukunft" in Freiheit, 4.6.1946.
61. Freiheit, 4.6.1946.
62. Freiheit, 4.6.1946.
63. Rheinische Post, 1.6.1946.
64. Unsigned, "Robert Ardrey: Leuchtfeuer" in Rhein-Echo, 8.6.1946.
65. Rhein-Echo, 8.6.1946.
66. Freiheit, 4.6.1946.

67. W. Karsch, "Robert Ardrey: Leuchtfeuer" in Tagesspiegel, 8.11.1945.
68. F. Erpenbeck, "Leuchtfeuer" in Deutsche Volkszeitung, 8.11.1945.
69. Erpenbeck, 8.11.1945.
70. Luft, 8.11.1945.
71. Cf. 59.
72. Erpenbeck, 8.11.1945.
73. Karsch, 8.11.1945.
74. It is probably only a printing error but Daiber states that the Hebbel-Theater opened on 15 August 1946. H. Daiber, Deutsches Theater seit 1945 (Stuttgart, 1976), p.15.
75. The season included the German premieres of Wolf's Professor Mamlock, Kaiser's Der Soldat Tanaka and the world premiere of Weisenborn's Die Illegalen.
76. W. Fiedler, "Leuchtfeuer" in Neue Zeitung, 8.11.1945.
77. Luft, 7.11.1945.
78. P. Rilla, "Robert Ardrey, Leuchtfeuer" in Berliner Zeitung, 8.11.1945.
79. Rilla, 8.11.1945.
80. Erpenbeck, 8.11.1945.
81. Luft, 7.11.1945.
82. Luft, 7.11.1945.
83. Rilla, 8.11.1945.
84. Fiedler, 8.11.1945.
85. Drommert, 11.12.1945.
86. Ehre 12.5.1982.
87. I. Höger, "Rückblick und Ausblick" in programme Familienleben (Hamburg, 1945-1946).

88. Ehre, 12.5.1982.
89. Drommert, 11.12.1945.
90. Stuttgarter Zeitung, 7.5.1946.
91. Der Allgäuer 12.6.1946.
92. H. Arnold, "Leuchtfeuer" in Volksstimme, 14.5.1946.
93. F. Luft, "Was fehlt?" in H. Jhering, ed., Theaterstadt Berlin (Berlin, 1948), p.62.
94. G. Gründgens, letter to an unnamed actor, 13.12.1947 in
G. Gründgens, Briefe Ansätze, Reden (Hamburg, 1970), p.308.
95. G. O. Leutner, Bericht (on state of Deutsches Schauspielhaus Hamburg),
unpublished, undated.
96. Harnack, p.17.
97. Ardrey, Act III, p.75.

NOTES

The German Classics

1. F. Harnack, Die Aufgaben des deutschen Theaters in der Gegenwart (München, 1946), p.12.
2. F. Erpenbeck, ed., Theaterdienst, 12 (1946).
3. The favourites according to this survey were:
Don Carlos, Egmont and Die Räuber. Erpenbeck, 12 (1946).
4. T. Überdick, "Klassiker behaupten sich" in W. A. Peters, ed., Die Quelle, 3 (1947), p.69.
5. In a preface to the Theater Almanach 1946/47, for example, W. Behr spoke of 'Schubladen-Stücke(n)...die es anscheinend doch nur spärlich gibt'.
W. Behr, "Zum Geleit" in A. Dahlmann, ed., Theater-Almanach 1946/47 (München, 1946), p.9.
6. W. Ahrens, "Jugend und Theater der Gegenwart" in P. Möhring, ed., Hamburger Theater-Almanach 1947 (Hamburg, 1947), p.77.
7. P. Rilla, "Das Hohelied der Humanität in Theaterkritiken (Berlin, DDR, 1978), p.24 (newspaper review of 9.9.1945).
8. Unsigned, "Goethes Iphigenie auf Tauris" in Main-Post, 1.10.1946.
9. W. Fiedler, "Sieg der Menschlichkeit" in Neue Zeit, 9.2.1947.
10. Rilla, 9.9.1945.
11. Goethe, Iphigenie auf Tauris (München, 1984), Act I, Sc.3, l.306.
12. Goethe, Act II, Sc.1, l.713f.
13. Goethe, Act V, Sc.3, l.1937f.
14. Lessing, Nathan der Weise, Act II, Sc.5, p.61.

15. Goethe in conversation with Eckermann, 1.4.1827

in Goethe, p.78.

16. Goethe, p.78.

17. Fritz Erpenbeck, for example, claimed:

Sie kann nicht sprechen,
schon rein technisch
nicht; (...) Sie kennt über-
haupt nur zwei "Walzen":
entweder "musikalische"
Deklamation oder einen
weinerlichen Schreiton
Sie hat auch keinerlei
Körperausdruck. Ihre Mimik
beschränkt sich auf
gelegentliches, kreisrundes
Offenhalten des Mundes.
Es strahlt nichts von ihr aus.

F. Erpenbeck, "Orest: Horst Caspar" in Vorwärts, 10.2.47.

18. Rilla, 9.9.1945.

19. One critic noted:

So beglückend das intensive
Miterleben des Publikums und
die noch - oder wieder - vorhan-
dene Begeisterungsfähigkeit
an wirklicher Dichtung sind, muß
doch eine scharfe Grenze zwischen
Werk und Aufführung gezogen
werden.

G. Ulberth, "Iphigenie" in Weser Kurier, 18.6.1947.

20. Main-Post, 1.10.1946.

21. P. Wiegler, "Iphigenie in den Kammerspielen" in Nachtextexpress,
8.2.1947.

22. Ulberth, 18.6.1947.

23. Goethe in a dedication to the actor Krüger, 31.3.1827
in Goethe, p.77.

32. Rilla, 9.9.1945.
33. Dahlmann, 21.5.1946.
34. Dahlmann, 21.5.1946.
35. Dahlmann, 21.5.1946.
36. Dahlmann referred to the setting as a 'Stilbruch der Inszenierung', 21.5.1946.
37. Unsigned, "Eröffnung des Theaters am Brunnenhof in der Münchener Residenz mit Nathan der Weise", newspaper and date unknown.
38. Dahlmann, 21.5.1946.
39. R. Drommert, "Nathan der Weise wieder auf der Bühne" in Hamburger Nachrichten-Blatt, 23.10.1945.
40. Drommert, 23.10.1945.
41. Unsigned, "Lessings Ideal der Humanität" in Neue Rhein Zeitung, 2.3.1946.
42. Unsigned, "Lessings Nathan der Weise" in Freiheit, 1.3.1946.
43. See note 6).
44. Neue Rhein Zeitung, 2.3.1946.
45. Neue Rhein Zeitung, 2.3.1946.
46. Freiheit, 1.3.1946.
47. Neue Rhein Zeitung, 2.3.1946.
48. Neue Rhein Zeitung, 2.3.1946.
49. Jhering, p.8.

NOTES

Nathan der Weise

1. H. Rischbieter notes that there was one subsequent production in Germany by the Theater des Jüdischen Kulturbundes in Berlin in October 1933. H. Rischbieter, "Nathan-als Märchen" in Theater heute 3/83, p.28.
2. Dr. H. Rempel, "Lessings unvergänglicher Nathan" in Tägliche Rundschau, 5.9.1945.
3. Dr. W. Pollatscheck, "Nathan der Weise" in Frankfurter Rundschau, 1.7.1947.
4. Städtische Bühnen Düsseldorf, ed., Die Bühne, I (1946), 28.2.1946.
5. Städtische Bühnen Düsseldorf, 28.2.1946.
6. Dr. W. Maiszies, ed., Theater und Politik - Wolfgang Langhoff in Düsseldorf, brochure of exhibition of Dumont-Lindemann-Archiv, Düsseldorf, 11-25.10.1981.
7. Städtische Bühnen Düsseldorf, 28.2.1946.
8. H. Jhering, "Lessing und Paul Wegener" in Theater des produktiven Widersprüche (Berlin, DDR, 1967), p.8 (newspaper article of 10.1943).
9. P. F. Weber, "Nathan der Weise in Karmeliterhof" in Frankfurter Neue Presse, 2.7.1947.
10. See Polatscheck's comment 'Wer heute den Nathan spielt...' quoted under 3).
11. Erpenbeck, "Allerlei wunde Punkte" in A. Dahlmann, ed., Der Theater-Almanach 1947 (München, 1947), p.68.
12. Rischbieter, p.24.
13. Seng, "Durchbruch zum Humanismus" in Tägliche Rundschau, 9.9.1945.

14. P. Wiegler, "Nathan in Reinhardts Haus" in Allgemeine Zeitung, 9.9.1945.
15. Rischbieter, p.26.
16. The Reimarus-Fragmente were extracts from the Apologie oder Schutzschrift für die vernünftigen Verehrer Gottes, a book left in manuscript form by a Hamburg schoolteacher, Heinrich Samuel Reimarus, on his death in 1768.
17. Lessing, letter to Elise Reimarus, cited in A. Dahlmann, "Schule der Weisheit auf dem Theater" in Süddeutsche Zeitung, 21.5.1946.
18. Lessing, "Vorarbeiten zu Nathan" in Nathan der Weise (München, 1979), p.190.
19. J. Bark, "Nachwort" in Lessing, Nathan der Weise, p.197.
20. Lessing, Nathan der Weise, Act II, Sc.5.
21. Today this discourse seems particularly unconvincing. The change in the Tempelherr is a weak point in the play which can only be compensated for in the production, and is usually unsatisfactory.
22. Nathan, Act II, Sc.5.
23. Nathan, Act II, Sc.5.
24. Nathan, Act IV, Sc.4.
25. Nathan, Act III, Sc.7.
26. Nathan, Act III, Sc.7.
27. Dahlmann, 21.5.1946.
28. Dahlmann, 20.5.1946.
29. P. Schick, Karl Kraus (Hamburg, 1984), pp.108-110.
30. W. Karsch, "Nathan der Weise" in Tagesspiegel, undated.
31. P. Rilla, "Das Hohelied der Humanität in Berliner Zeitung", 9.9.1945.

NOTES

New German Drama

1. O. Wälterlin, Verantwortung des Theaters (Berlin 1947), p.28.
2. F. Harnack, Die Aufgaben des deutschen Theaters in der Gegenwart (München 1946), p.13.
3. Cf. for example, F. Luft who noted: 'Wir wußten noch nicht, daß die vielzitierten Schubladen sich als leer erweisen würden'. F. Luft quoted in H. Daiber, Deutsches Theater seit 1945 (Stuttgart 1976), p.19.
4. G. O. Leutner, Bericht, unpublished and undated.
5. F. Erpenbeck, "Und abermals die jungen Dramatiker" in Lebendiges Theater (Berlin, DDR, 1949), p.78.
6. H. Knudsen, "Spielplan und Publikum" in Stadtheater Gießen, ed., Programm-Heft XV (Gießen, 1950/51).
7. W. Petzet, "Das Geheimnis der Schubladen" in H. Schulze-Wilde, Die Bühne I (1948), p.10.
8. Wälterlin, p.28.
9. G. P. Brett Jr., et al., German Book Publishing and Allied Subjects (München/New York, 1948), p.29.
10. I. Ehre, Gott hat einen größeren Kopf, mein Kind (München/Hamburg, 1985), p.148.
11. F. Luft, "Was fehlt?" in H. Jhering, ed., Theaterstadt Berlin (Berlin, DDR, 1948), p.61.
12. H. Gau-Hamm, "Zur Situation unserer Theater" in GDBA, ed., Deutsches Bühnen-Jahrbuch 1949.
13. W. Petzet, "Das Münchener Preisausschreiben" in Der aktuelle Dienst, ed., Die Bühnenkritik 7 (1948), p.30.

14. Petzet, p.30.
15. Petzet, p.30.
16. H. Böll, epilogue to W. Borchert, Draußen vor der Tür (Hamburg, 1985), p.118.
17. Borchert, Sc. 5, p.37.
18. G. Rühle, Zeit und Theater, Vol.V (Frankfurt/Berlin, 1980), p.73.
19. Borchert, Sc.3, p.21.
20. Borchert, Sc.5, p.54.
21. H. Rischbieter, "Draußen vor der Tür" in Theater heute 5 (1983), p.51.
22. G. Gründgens, "Das deutsche Theater der Gegenwart" in Deutscher Bühnenverein, ed. Das deutsche Theater der Gegenwart (Stuttgart, 1948), p.26.
23. Gründgens, p.32.
24. G. Weisenborn, "Vorwort" to Die Illegalen in Rühle, Vol. VI, p.663.
25. Weisenborn, Die Illegalen, Act I in Rühle, Vol.VI, p.665.
26. L. H. Lorenz, "Ernte neuer Kunstbesinnung" in Die Zeit, 27.6.46.
27. Unsigned, "Gedanken zu einer Aufführung" in Darmstädter Echo, 29.5.46.
28. F. Luft, "Günther Weisenborn: Die Illegalen" in Berliner Theater 1945-1961 (Hannover, 1961), p.16 (Newspaper article of 23.3.1946).
29. Weisenborn, Act I, p.678.
30. Luft, 23.3.1946.

NOTES

Professor Mamlock

1. Schiller, cited in F. Wolf, Zeitprobleme des Theaters (Berlin, 1947), p.9.
2. Wolf, pp.10-11.
3. H. Mayer, "Nachwort" in F. Wolf, Dramen (Berlin, DDR, 1951), p.379.
4. Der aktuelle Dienst, ed., Die Bühnenkritik 2 (1947).
5. Wolf in H. Daiber, Deutsches Theater seit 1945 (Stuttgart, 1976), p.67.
6. R. Weichert in Städtische Bühnen Frankfurt, ed., programme of Professor Mamlock (Frankfurt, 1947/48).
7. Wolf, "Ein 'Mamlock'? - 12 Millionen Mamlocks" in Professor Mamlock (Stuttgart, 1980), pp.71-2.
8. Wolf in Professor Mamlock, p.73.
9. Wolf in Professor Mamlock, p.73.
10. Daiber, p.67 and H. Glaser, Kulturgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1945-1948 (München/Wien, 1985), p.261.
11. Wolf, Professor Mamlock, Act IV, p.69.
12. H. Haarmann, "Nachwort" in Wolf, Professor Mamlock, p.88.
13. G. Leo, "Die Jugend und das Zeitstück" in Freiheit, 24.5.1946.
14. Unsigned, "Lektion gegen die Vergeßlichkeit" in Hamburger Echo, 7.3.1947.
15. Cf., for example Weichert, 1947/48 and unsigned, "Professor Mamlocks Ausweg" in Hamburger Freie Presse, 7.3.1947.
16. Unsigned, "Professor Mamlock" in Hamburger Volkszeitung, 8.3.1947.

17. Dr.W. Pollatschek, "Professor Mamlock" in Frankfurter Rundschau, 25.10.47.
18. Pollatschek, 25.10.47.
19. Pollatschek, 25.10.47.
20. P. Ern  in Weichert, 1947/48.
21. Unsigned, "Professor Mamlock im Stadttheater" in Saarbr cker Zeitung, 6.5.1947.
22. Unsigned, "Professor Mamlock" in Hamburger Allgemeine Zeitung, 7.3.1947.
24. Cf., for example the dialogue at the opening of Act II, particularly between Ruth and Rolf ('Du hast wohl wieder eine ganz aparte Auslegung', p.18) or ('Einfach fabelhafter Mensch, nicht wahr', p.20).
25. Wolf, Act II, pp.22-3.
26. Cf., for example, the entrances of Ruth, Frau Mamlock, and Simon, or the dialogue commencing 'Hans, ich komme als dein Freund', p.22-3.
27. W. Schnurre, "Theater-Rundschau" in R. Pechel, ed., Deutsche Rundschau 2 (1946), p.247.
28. rororo Filmllexikon 2 (Reinbek, 1978), pp.518-9.
29. Unsigned, "Professor Mamlock in D sseldorf" in Rhein-Echo, 11.5.1946; cf. also unsigned, "Professor Mamlock" in Rheinische Post, 8.5.1946 which claimed: 'Wolfgang Langhoffs Regie verhilft dem St ck zu einer das Thema klar formulierenden, darstellerisch durchgearbeiteten Auff hrung'.
30. Unsigned, "Friedrich Wolf: Professor Mamlock" in Freiheit, 7.5.1946.
31. Freiheit, 7.5.1946.

32. Cf., for example Act II, pp.22-3 in which Seidel remarks:

Die Erregung der nationalen Massen ist enorm, eine Mobilisierung des ganzen Volkes wie 1914, grandios, bluthaft, schicksalhaft, gigantisch, ein Naturschauspiel: Das Volk steht auf, der Sturm bricht los.

33. Rhein-Echo, 11.5.1946.
34. Rheinische Post, 8.5.1946.
35. Rhein-Echo, 11.5.1946.
36. Städtische Bühnen Düsseldorf, ed., Die Bühne, programme of Professor Mamlock (Düsseldorf, 1945/46).
37. Die Bühne, 1945/46.
38. Die Bühne, 1945/46.
39. Die Bühne, 1945/46.
40. Rheinische Post, 8.5.1946.
41. Rhein-Echo, 11.5.1946.
42. Rhein-Echo, 11.5.1946.
43. Rheinische Post, 8.5.1946.
44. Rheinische Post, 8.6.1946.
45. Freiheit, 7.5.1946.
46. E. Niederreither, "Professor Mamlock" in J. M. Rubner and T. P. Huster, eds., Chronik der neuen Münchner Theatergeschichte, Vol. II (München, 1946), pp.8-9.
47. H. W. Richter, "Friedrich Wolf: Professor Mamlock" in Der Ruf, 1.10.1946.
48. A. Dahlmann, "Friedrich Wolf: Professor Mamlock" in Süddeutsche Zeitung, 30.7.1946.
49. Niederreither, p.9.
50. Niederreither, p.9.

51. Dahlmann, 30.7.46.
52. Richter, 1.10.1946.
53. Dahlmann, 30.7.1946.
54. Niederreither, p.9.
55. Dahlmann, 30.7.1946.
56. Niederreither, p.9.
57. Dahlmann, 30.7.1946.
58. Hamburger Freie Presse, 7.3.1947.
59. Hamburger-Echo, 7.3.1947.
60. Hamburger-Echo, 7.3.1947.
61. Hamburger Allgemeine Zeitung, 7.3.1947.
62. Hamburger Volkszeitung, 8.3.1947.
63. Hamburger-Echo, 7.3.1947.
64. Hamburger-Echo, 7.3.1947.
65. Hamburger Volkszeitung, 5.3.1947.
66. Hamburger Volkszeitung, 8.3.1947.

NOTES

Des Teufels General

1. C. Zuckmayer, Als wär's ein Stück von mir, (Frankfurt, 1978), p.527.
2. Zuckmayer, pp.517-8.
3. Zuckmayer, p.536.
4. Zuckmayer, p.535.
5. Zuckmayer, Des Teufels General (Frankfurt, 1979), Act I, p.57.
6. Zuckmayer, Act III, p.149.
7. R. Drommert, "Des Teufels General in Hamburg" in Hamburger Freie Presse, 12.11.1947.
8. Unsigned, "Des Teufels General" in Hamburger Allgemeine Zeitung, 11.11.1947.
9. Zuckmayer in A. Reif, "Als war's ein Stück von ihm" in Die Weltwoche, 22.12.1976.
10. J. Marein, "Des Teufels General" in Die Zeit, 20.11.1947.
11. Cf. for example R. Lubowski, "Des Teufels General" in Der aktuelle Dienst, ed., Die Bühnenkritik I (1948), p.1. or F. Luft, Berliner Theater 1945-1961 (Hannover, 1961), p.65 (newspaper article of 17.7.1948).
12. Lubowski, p.1.
13. Zuckmayer, Act III, pp.143-4.
14. Unsigned, title unknown, in Rheinische Merkur, 3.5.1947.
15. Unsigned, "Des Teufels General in Deutschland" in Neues Winterthurer Tagblatt, 24.12.1947.
16. Zuckmayer, Act III, p.154.
17. Cf. for example Harras's remarks to Oderbruch in Act III:

Harras: Glaubt ihr, man kann einen schlechten Baum
 fällen, indem man die Krone schlägt? Ihr
 müßt die Wurzel treffen.

Zuckmayer, Act III, p.153.

18. Unsigned, "Carl Zuckmayer: Des Teufels General" in Münchener Merkur, 27.2.1948.
19. A. Dahlmann, "Des Teufels General nun auch in München" in Süddeutsche Zeitung, 27.2.1948.
20. W. Lennig, "Der allzusympathische General" in Berliner Zeitung, 16.7.1948.
21. Luft, p.67.
22. Marein, 20.11.1947.

Other examples include Drommert, 12.11.47 and G. Sanden, "Des Teufels General" in Die Welt, 11.11.1947.

23. F. Erpenbeck, "Des Teufels General" in Deutsche Volkszeitung, 14.7.1948.

Erpenbeck and the critics of the Left interpreted the play as a glorification of the 20th July plot to assassinate Hitler. Although Zuckmayer dedicated his play to the friends involved in the plot in 1945, his original version dated back to 1942, and was dedicated to the unknown warrior. In its exclusivity Erpenbeck's interpretation is certainly incorrect.

24. Erpenbeck, 14.7.1948.
25. E. Belzner, "Carl Zuckmayer: Des Teufels General" in Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung, 27.11.47.
26. Marein, 20.11.1947.
27. Marein, 20.11.1947.
28. Zuckmayer, Act III, p.140.
29. Unknown actor cited in G. Rühle, "Der Mann aus den Bergen" in Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 24.12.1971.

30. Zuckmayer, cited in Rühle, 24.12.1971.
31. Unknown speaker cited in unsigned, "Diskussion vor dem Spiegel" in Echo der Woche, 6.3.1948.
32. Zuckmayer, Als wär's ein Stück von mir, p.561.
33. Zuckmayer, cited in Rühle, 24.12.1971.
34. Zuckmayer, cited in Rühle, 24.12.1971.
35. Zuckmayer, cited in Echo der Woche, 6.3.1948 and R. Lange, Zuckmayer (Hannover, 1973), p.68.
37. Zuckmayer, Act III, pp.149-50.
38. Zuckmayer, Act I, pp.38-9.
39. Zuckmayer, Als wär's ein Stück von mir, p.534.
40. Cf. for example, Marein, 20.11.1947.
41. Zuckmayer, cited in unsigned, "Nochmals Oderbruch" in Die Welt, 2.3.1948.
42. Zuckmayer, Act III, p.151.
43. Zuckmayer, Act III, p.150.
44. Unsigned, "Harras meldet sich ab" in Der Spiegel, 15.11.1947.
45. W. Koch, "Des Teufels General ... und sein Publikum" in Rheinische Zeitung, 14.1.1948.
46. Cf. for example, W. Schirrmacher, "Zuckmayers Udet-Drama" in Der Ruf, 15.11.1947.
47. Dahlmann, 27.2.1948.
48. Marein, 20.11.1947.
49. D. Hadamczik, J. Schmidt, W. Schulze-Reimpell, Was spielten die Theater? (Köln, 1978), p.12ff.
50. R. Drommert, "Hamburgs Sprechbühnen in der 3. Spielzeit nach dem Krieg" in P. T. Hoffmann, ed., Hamburger Jahrbuch für Theater und Musik 1948-49 (Hamburg, 1949), p.246.

51. Schirrmacher, 15.11.1947.
52. Sanden, 11.11.1947.
53. Drommert, 12.11.1947.
54. R. Hollmann, "Das Recht ist Freiheit" in Hannoversche Neueste Nachrichten, 27.1.1948.
55. K. H. Rückert "Des Teufels General" in Echo der Woche, 22.11.1947.
56. Marein, 20.11.1947.
57. Hamburger Allgemeine Zeitung, 11.11.1947.
58. Drommert, 12.11.1947.
59. Hamburger Allgemeine Zeitung, 11.11.1947.
60. Unsigned, "Bildnis eines Hasardeurs" in Hamburger Echo, 11.11.1947.
61. Cf. for example, Sanden, 11.11.1947 or Hamburger Echo, 11.11.1947.
62. Drommert, 12.11.1947.
63. Rückert, 22.11.1947.
64. Hamburger Allgemeine Zeitung, 11.11.1947.
65. H. Pauck, "Des Teufels General" in Neue Zeitung, 21.11.1947.
66. Drommert, 12.11.1947.
67. Sanden, 11.11.1947.
68. Hamburger Allgemeine Zeitung, 11.11.1947.
69. Drommert, 12.11.1947.
70. Unsigned, "Harras meldet sich ab " in Der Spiegel, 15.11.1947.
71. Zuckmayer, Als wärs ein Stück von mir, p.560.
72. Belzner, 27.11.1947.
73. P. F. Weber, "Des Teufels General" in Frankfurter Neue Presse, 29.11.1947.

74. B. E. Werner, "Hilpert inszenierte" in Neue Zeitung,
1.12.1947.
75. Weber, 29.11.1947.
76. Belzner, 27.11.1947.
77. Werner, 1.12.1947.
78. Lubowski, p.2.
79. G. Beutel, "Carl Zuckmayer: Des Teufels General"
in Die Weltbühne 1/ 2 (1948).
81. Des Teufels General was retained in the repertoire of
the Schloßpark Theater into the Fifties.
Cf. unsigned "300mal Des Teufels General" in Die neue Zeitung,
21.8.1951.
82. W. Karsch, "Des Teufels General" in Tagesspiegel, 16.7.1948.
83. Luft, p.66.
84. Lennig, 16.7.1948.
85. The scenes cut were with Pützchen (Act II, p.105f) in which the
ideas of the NSRFF are discussed throwing light on Pützchen's
character and with Harras (Act II, p.117f) in which Harras's
attitudes, especially his love for Germany and the Germans,
is expounded. Significant dialogue includes Lawrence to
Harras (Act II, p.80) 'Toten auf Urlaub' etc.
86. Luft, p.66.
87. Luft, p.67.
88. Lennig, 16.7.1948.

Conclusion

This account of reconstruction in the German theatre during the immediate post-war seasons has proceeded along historical and empirical lines. Apart from the facts relating to the re-opening of theatres, the influence of the Allies, and the writing and production of plays, it is now possible to see more clearly the difficult and contradictory status of the theatre in the period. Indeed, while theatre may not be a unique illustration of the tensions to which Germany as a nation and Germans as individuals were subject in the devastation of national culture which followed the Second World War, it was acutely sensitive to the ideological strains and stresses of national as well as cultural reconstruction.

As has been seen G. Brieke even endowed Goethe's Iphigenie auf Tauris with a status nothing short of a 'Bekenntnis zur letzten Wahrheit'¹ and the dominance of the concept of theatre as a "moralische Anstalt" in the legacy of Schiller meant that theatre had an important educational part to play too. Theatre people saw it as inherent in their task to produce works aimed at revealing evil and injustice and modifying beliefs and opinions, while audiences were accustomed to having their beliefs and opinions challenged and looking to the theatre as a guide and mentor.

In the light of this constellation the theatre adopted a particularly significant role between 1945 and 1948: documented responses show that audiences sought guidance in re-ordering and re-defining their lives and in trying to establish who they were and where they stood both personally and nationally. The theatre was a forum for exploring the new German situation and was

consequently the focal point of a search for a new German identity.

Identity has two senses: firstly it is the common affinity of the nation which requires shared values in order to be valid. A search for values of this kind not only took place within the theatre, it also concentrated attention on the theatre since it led back to the eighteenth century and German classicism. Humanist ideals were on view, as retaining their integrity in spite of National Socialism. The second sense of identity led back to this point as well. For identity means the individual overcoming the confused, disoriented, fragmentary nature of his life (a special problem in post-war Germany) and coming to terms with a changed situation. This is the essence of the harmonious fusion of the individual and fate achieved by devotion to the ideals of truth and humanity in the classics. And yet this German classical tradition was clearly at odds with Germany as the experienced historical reality which had brought forth National Socialism. It was this dichotomy which the works of German classicism managed to transcend by themselves becoming a symbol of the values they represented. In this way cultural continuity could be maintained, and honourable principles were recognized which could be activated in order to fill the social and political vacuum ensuing from national defeat, invalidated beliefs, and subjugation to foreign powers. Due to this exceptional status the classics were able to unite people of differing persuasions in the search for identity in both its senses: those who had lost all faith in politics sought non-political solutions to their predicament in the idea of eternal and ultimate truth while those committed to finding political answers understood

the classics in political terms as answering the need 'den deutschen Menschen umzuformen zum Europäer, ihn zu staatsbürgerlichem Denken zu erziehen',² in the words of Wolfgang Langhoff.

The multiplicity of views and beliefs united by the classics influenced modes of production in 1945. A particular trend favoured ascetic productions which set themselves apart from the monumental proportions of the Nazi theatre, not by reducing the dimensions of the work - where this was attempted Alfred Dahlmann spoke of 'mißglückte Tendenzierung',³ - but by placing the emphasis firmly on the spoken word. Together with the humanist ideals it was thus the integrity of classical language and the processes of discourse itself which became the focus of dramatic interpretation in the tradition of individual self-realization. A contradiction emerges here which also found its synthesis in classical productions of this kind: the idea of individual self-realization was juxtaposed with ensemble production to create a theatre of the word in which both aspects were fully integrated. This is of considerable interest in the light of the educational role of the theatre at the time since the productions themselves express the fact that theatre is a political forum too, and to some extent a surrogate for real political activity. So long as Germany was governed entirely by the occupying powers, the relative freedom of the theatre in combination with its traditional understanding of its role endowed it with a unique political relevance.

None of the Western Allies, least of all the British and Americans, understood the significance of the classics because they did not share the concept of theatre as a "moralische Anstalt" and thus only gradually recognized the didactic potential of the

German theatre. They reacted by imposing stiffer censorship and, above all the French and Americans, integrated the theatre into their programme of re-education, 'das ohnehin vergeblich war, denn kein Volk kann ein anderes erziehen, am wenigsten durch eine Armee',⁴ according to Carl Zuckmayer. It did not prevent them from trying, and in the spirit of cultural competition which subsequently developed it was once again the French but especially the Americans who flooded the German market with their own national drama.

Initially theatre people and audiences were enthusiastic about the wealth of drama from abroad. Quite apart from the interest engendered by contents and form, after twelve years cultural isolation it was welcomed not only as an important key to other nations' social and political development but also as a means of re-establishing Germany's cultural relations with other nations and eventually regaining acceptance as a national state amongst other sovereign states. This partial attempt to overcome the problem of national identity gained in importance because, socially and politically, Germany was still isolated. It also meant, however, that the presentation of foreign drama in Germany at the time forced the theatre into the uneasy position of being Germany's mediator in her relations with other nations and also the channel through which other nations sought to re-educate Germany - a constellation which confused its role as a focal point in the search for a new or restored German identity. This factor contributed to the disillusionment with foreign works which set in during the second half of the period, as did the appearance of poor-quality foreign drama which lacked relevance to life in post-war Germany and failed to present issues of interest to a didactic theatre.

Relatively minor works like Leuchtfeuer and even Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen gained in importance because they could inspire hope, optimism, and a belief in progress providing people took responsibility for their lives and acted to change their situation. They were also successful because they confirmed the belief that a new identity could emerge out of apparently hopeless situations, and a work like Leuchtfeuer even bore some relevance to efforts at personal self-appraisal. But these works were of little use in actually determining the criteria on which a new national identity should be founded because they possessed none of the authenticity of the classics and thus could not sublimate the conflict between the Germany of classical tradition and the Germany of experienced historical fact. Foreign works similarly lacked authenticity because they had been removed not only from their original social and political contexts but also from their original linguistic context. Leuchtfeuer may provide an adequate image of the isolation of Germany but it is also inadequate because its unhistorical framework only deals with individual fate and personal responsibility. Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen on the other hand, presents a collective image but is equally unhistorical and thus equally inadequate. The presentation of these works made the theatre into an abstract forum in conflict with the direct role foreseen by a didactic theatre and lacking the strict adherence to historical authenticity which is the cornerstone of such a project.

Claims were implicitly made for theatre as a vehicle for "the truth". In the post-war period such truth-claims must be understood to have two distinctive meanings. On the one hand they refer to facts about the Nazi era, on the other they appeal to

an ultimate and eternal principle. The former involves a pursuit of truth through confrontation with the immediate past, the latter a dedication to truth in the ideals of humanism. These preoccupations had another consequence for productions of foreign works in Germany. Regardless of whether alterations had already been made to the text in translation, the majority of productions introduced changes and interpretations in order to confront Germany's immediate past. Ironically, in a theatre dedicated to notions of truth, this frequently led to presentations of foreign works seriously altered in meaning and hence robbed of yet another aspect of their own authenticity.

The problem recurs with regard to modern German works, too, as the case of Professor Mamlock has shown. Most new plays dealt with at least one type of truth since both exile and post-war works tended to be political in nature which meant that they were either anti-fascist or concerned with the dilemmas caused by, and the consequences of fascism. But the freedom of the theatre was subject to the censorship of the occupying powers whenever a play was thought to be subversive. It is both ironic and indicative of the disjunction between German practice and Allied perception that the Americans should have allowed productions of Professor Mamlock, seeing it as anti-fascist and missing its Communist intentions, while preventing the production of Des Teufels General which pursues no overt political aims in any way contrary to their own ambitions. The occupying powers were not alone in restricting activity: German theatre people who had developed a distrust of politics also imposed constraints on themselves when the political contents ceased to be retrospective and were geared towards specific

political action in the present. Confrontation with the past was considered salutary but commitment to the present, as in Professor Mamlock, was suspect. The consequences for productions were a de-specification of contents in favour of a generalized anti-fascist democratic awareness and an emphasis on the existence in these works of the values honoured in the classics: truth and humanity.

It is symptomatic of the unique authority of the classics in German theatre literature that their principles are invoked in relation to new German drama as well. Theatre people and audiences expected these works to fulfil the same demands as the classics, overlooking the fact that the eternal verities of the classics had been compromised by historical fact even if the works themselves were able to transcend this ignominy and even throw light on Germany as an experienced historical reality. This status is certainly an achievement of the classics but it is also a mark of the dislocation of the theatre which, for all its awareness of itself and its role, is nevertheless not quite in touch with its own time. In the heritage of the classics, modern German drama was expected to confront the reality of National Socialism and communicate a concept of eternal and ultimate truth on the one hand, while helping to create a new national identity and confirm difficult ethical judgements for the individual on the other. Expectations of this kind were unrealistic and inevitably resulted in disappointment.

Various works fulfilled some of these expectations, by disseminating information on the retrospectively honourable deeds of the resistance for example, but it was only at the end of the period that the two most significant versions of the ideas of truth and identity were

produced: Draußen vor der Tür and Des Teufels General. It is worth noting that the single most successful play, Des Teufels General, was not written on the basis of personal practical experience of its subject matter as most of the other plays were, but from a dedication to humanist ideals and an intimate private knowledge of the problems of identity. It thus achieved an almost unique post-war realization of the classic principles in the theatre of the Western Zones.

In practical terms, as is now clear, reconstruction in the theatre during the three first post-war seasons was determined by a whole complex of individuals, governments, and organizations with differing concepts of politics, society, and the theatre. They influenced each other, interacted, and placed restrictions on the ways the theatre should develop. Among the "Intendanten" whose influence, especially on repertoires, was considerable, were people who had fought fascism from without and within, some who had tolerated or been tolerated by the system, and others who had more or less willingly come to terms with it. Despite all the constraints imposed by the occupying powers, German administrators, and the physical condition of the country, until the Currency Reform the "Intendanten" enjoyed sufficient freedom to attempt a re-structuring of the theatre in Germany.

Common to those "Intendanten" of the Left who had been in exile and returned to influential positions was the tendency to over-estimate the speed and radicalism with which changes could be introduced. Their failure was usually accompanied by their departure and often resulted in the very opposite of what they had intended:

restoration took the place of reconstruction, since the gap they left behind had to be filled temporarily by those who were forced to present safe, uncontentious theatre which was inherently restorative. By the time a new "Intendant" was appointed and had started to make his mark on the repertoire, a new set of restraints was imposed by the Currency Reform.

It was not the sole prerogative of the Left to try and alter too much too quickly as Karlheinz Stroux and the Landestheater Darmstadt have illustrated. A breathtakingly innovative first post-war season was followed by a decline into the most negatively provincial of roles after Stroux had departed. The "Intendant" had a key position and it can be seen that stability within the leadership of a theatre was one of the factors contributing to reconstruction rather than restoration. The point is demonstrated both by the Württembergisches Staatstheater in Stuttgart and the Kammerspiele in Hamburg.

In the provinces especially only those "Intendanten" who introduced change gradually and circumspectly were successful. Theatres like the Landestheater Coburg, the Theater der Stadt Gießen and the Städtische Bühne Hagen managed to expand the scope of provincial repertoires by reducing the traditionally high number of productions but increasing the percentage of modern topical works. On top of this, they tackled the past in an attempt to throw light on the current situation and presented drama which itself offered solutions such as the Christian theatre cultivated by the Städtische Bühnen Mönchengladbach/Rheydt. The work of provincial houses in creating a theatre in touch with the needs

of the immediate post-war situation constitutes one of the major achievements in the period of reconstruction.

Together with Stuttgart or the Hamburger Kammerspiele these theatres also brought about a change which was desired by a broad spectrum of theatre practitioners but was a priority of people like Gustaf Gründgens and Ida Ehre: ensemble theatre. The restoration of a "Stargasttheater" was a phenomenon which could be observed in Berlin and the major theatre centres like München and Hamburg (with the exception of the Kammerspiele) and which reflected not only the tensions between individual and communal identity within the theatre but also the contest to establish a more democratic practice of theatre too. The provinces were most successful in instituting changes of this kind, but ensembles built up gradually and carefully over the three seasons then fell victim to the Currency Reform with whole companies being disbanded. Nevertheless, the fact that some theatres, like Stuttgart, have retained forms and habits developed during this period, such as the primacy of ensemble theatre, indicates the extent to which the struggles outlined here left their mark on the structure of the theatre well beyond the limit of 1948.

NOTES

Conclusion

1. G. Briele, "Zur Festaufführung Iphigenie auf Tauris"
in Theater der Stadt Gießen, ed., Festschrift 1947:
zum 40-jährigen Jubiläum (Gießen, 1947).
2. W. Langhoff, "Dichtung und Tendenz" in Städtische Bühnen
Düsseldorf, ed., Die Bühne I (Düsseldorf, 1945/46).
3. A. Dahlmann, "München" in Der Theater-Almanach 1946/47
(München, 1946), p.284.
4. C. Zuckmayer, Als wär's ein Stück von mir (Frankfurt, 1978),
p.560.

Bibliography

Introduction

Space prevents an exhaustive list of the newspaper reviews and theatre programmes considered in the framework of this study. Details of both are thus given ad loc in the text. The bibliographical references for the plays discussed in Chapter III do, however, include lists of newspapers from which reviews have been taken, according to title, season, and place of production. The sources of the newspapers are covered by Appendix I. Similarly, individual theatre programmes are cited in the play references, and the collected theatre programmes for the period 1945-1950 are given at the end of the citings for specific theatres in the bibliography. The source is the Theatermuseum, Universität Köln, unless additional sources are stated.

Appendix I collates the institutions consulted during research comprising theatres, archives, institutes, libraries, and publishers in the Federal Republic of Germany and Great Britain.

Appendix II lists the plays in production between 1945 and 1948 specifically considered for this study. With the exception of the plays discussed in Chapter III, works by the following classical and post-classical authors have not been included in the list: Aischylos, Büchner, Calderón de la Barca, Freytag, Goethe, Gogol, Goldoni, Hauptmann, Hebbel, Hofmannsthal, Ibsen, Jonson, Kleist, Lessing, Molière, Moreto, Nestroy, Racine, Schiller, Schnitzler, Shakespeare, Shaw, Sophokles, Strindberg, Tirso de Molina, Tolstoi, Tschechow, de Vega, Wilde.

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Bonn, 1947/48: Rheinische Zeitung; Volksstimme

Düsseldorf, 1945/46: Freiheit; Neue Rhein Zeitung; Programmheft

Frankfurt, 1946/47: Allgemeine Zeitung; Frankfurter Freie Presse; Frankfurter Rundschau

Hamburg, 1945/46: Hamburger Nachrichten-Blatt

Koblenz, 1946/47: Rheinischer Merkur

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Weisenborn: Die Illegalen

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Berlin, 1945/46: Berliner Zeitung; Tagesspiegel; Programmheft

Buenos Aires, 1947/48: Argentinisches Tageblatt; La Otra Alemania

Darmstadt, 1945/46: Darmstädter Echo

Hamburg, 1945/46: Hamburger Volkszeitung; Die Welt; Die Zeit

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Berlin, 1946/47: Berliner Zeitung; Der Kurier; Die neue Zeitung; Tagesspiegel; Programmheft

Braunschweig, 1946/47: Die Welt

Darmstadt, 1945/46: Darmstädter Echo; Neue Zeitung; Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung; Der Tag; Die Welt; Programmheft

Düsseldorf, 1946/47: Freiheit

Essen, 1947/48: Rhein-Echo; Westdeutsches Volks-Echo; Westfälische Rundschau

Frankfurt, 1946,47: Programmheft

Freiburg, 1947/48: Nouvelles de France; Süddeutsche Volkszeitung; Das Volk

Hamburg, 1946/47: Hamburger Allgemeine Zeitung; Hamburger Echo; Hamburger Freie Presse; Hamburger Volkszeitung; Hannoversche Presse; Rheinische Illustrierte; Die Welt; Programmheft

Köln, 1946/47: Bonner Universitäts-Zeitung; Rhein-Echo; Rheinischer Merkur; Rheinische Zeitung; Volksstimme

London, 1946/47: Sunday Express

München, 1946/47: Münchener Mittag; Schwäbische Donau-Zeitung; Süddeutsche Zeitung; Die Zeit; Programmheft

New York, 1942/43: New York Times

Stuttgart, 1946/47: Neue Württemberger Zeitung; Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung

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Frankfurt, 1947/48: Frankfurter Rundschau; Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung; Programmheft

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Berlin, 1947/48: Berliner Zeitung; Neues Deutschland; Die neue Zeitung; Sonntag; Tagesspiegel

Berlin, 1951/52: Die neue Zeitung; Der Telegraf

Bonn, 1948/49: Rheinische Zeitung; Tagesspiegel; West-deutsche Rundschau; Programmheft

Bremen, 1947/48: Weser Kurier

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Düsseldorf, 1947/48: Programmheft

Plays (Chapter III), relevant secondary literature, and sources of reviews cont.

Zuckmayer: Des Teufels General cont.

Essen, 1947/48: Neue Ruhr-Zeitung

Frankfurt, 1947/48: Allgemeine Zeitung; Aufbau; Die Bühnenkritik; Frankfurter Neue Presse; Neue Zeitung; Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung; Sie; Sonntag; Stuttgarter Nachrichten; Süddeutsche Zeitung; Südkurier; Die Weltbühne

Freiburg, 1947/48: Das neue Baden

Hamburg, 1947/48: Die Bühnenkritik; Echo der Woche; Hamburger Allgemeine Zeitung; Hamburger Echo, Hamburger Freie Presse; Hamburger Volkszeitung; Neue Zeitung; Nouvelles de France; Der Ruf; Süddeutsche Zeitung; Tagespiegel; Der Telegraf; Die Welt; Westdeutsche Rundschau; Die Zeit

Hamburg, 1948/49: Der Spiegel

Hannover, 1947/48: Hannoversche Neueste Nachrichten

Heidelberg, 1947/48: Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung

Köln, 1947/48: Der Abend; Rheinische Zeitung; Die Welt; Westfalenpost - Ruhr-Nachrichten

Konstanz, 1947/48: Südkurier

Mannheim, 1947/48: Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung

München, 1947/48: Echo der Woche; Frankfurter Rundschau; Münchner Merkur; Münchner Tagebuch; Süddeutsche Zeitung; Die Welt; Wir

München, 1948/49: Süddeutsche Zeitung

Ulm, 1947/48: Münchner Merkur

Wuppertal, 1947/48: Rheinische Post

Appendix I

Institutions consulted during research

Theatres

Bochumer Schauspielhaus
Theater der Stadt Bonn
Landestheater Coburg
Staatstheater Darmstadt
Städtische Bühnen Frankfurt
Stadttheater Gießen
Deutsches Theater in Göttingen
Städtische Bühne Hagen
Hamburger Kammerspiele
Thalia Theater Hamburg
Stadttheater Konstanz
Städtische Bühnen Krefeld-Mönchengladbach
Nationaltheater Mannheim
Bayerisches Staatsschauspiel München
Münchner Kammerspiele
Saarländisches Staatstheater Saarbrücken
Württembergische Staatstheater Stuttgart
Theater der Stadt Trier
Hessisches Staatstheater Wiesbaden
Schauspielhaus Zürich

Archives/Institutes/Libraries

Institut für Theaterwissenschaft, Freie Universität Berlin
Stadtarchiv Bochum
Stadtarchiv Bonn
Universitätsbibliothek Bonn
Landesbibliothek Coburg
Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt
Dumont-Lindemann-Archiv, Düsseldorf
Nordrhein-Westfälische Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf
Deutsche Bibliothek Frankfurt
Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt
Stadtarchiv Göttingen
Stadtarchiv Hagen

Appendix I cont. Institutions consulted during research

Privatarchiv Wilhelm Allgayer, Hamburg
Theatersammlung der Hansestadt Hamburg
Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek Hamburg
Historische Kommission der deutschen Gesellschaft für
Erziehungswissenschaften, Hannover
Public Records Office, Kew
Theatermuseum des Instituts für Theater-, Film- und Fernseh-
wissenschaft der Universität Köln
Stadtarchiv Konstanz
Stadtarchiv Krefeld
Städtisches Reiss-Museum Mannheim
Stadtarchiv Mönchengladbach
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München
Archiv des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte, München
Stadtarchiv München
Süddeutsches Archiv, Theatermuseum, München
Stadtarchiv Saarbrücken
Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart
Stadtbibliothek Trier
The Library, University of Warwick

Publishers

Ahn & Simrock, München
S. Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt
Mykenae Verlag, Darmstadt
Die deutsche Bühne, Köln
Theater heute, Berlin

Appendix II

Plays in production

Adler/Benatzky	Meine Nichte Susanne
v. Ambesser	Das Abgründige in Herrn Gerstenberg
Anouilh	Antigone Der Ball der Diebe Einladung aufs Schloß Eurydike Der Reisende ohne Gepäck Das Rendezvous von Senlis
Ardrey	Leuchttfeuer
Bahr	Das Konzert
Barlach	Die Sündflut Der tote Tag
Behrmann	Biographie und Liebe
Borchert	Draußen vor der Tür
Brecht	Furcht und Elend des Dritten Reiches Die Gewehre der Frau Carrar Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder
Bruckner	Heroische Komödie Die Marquise von O
Camus	Caligula
Claudel	Der seidene Schuh Die Verkündigung
Cocteau	Der Doppeladler Die Schreibmaschine
Denger	Wir heißen Euch hoffen
v. Druten	Das Lied der Taube
Eliot	Mord im Dom
Euripides/Werfel	Die Troerinnen
Ferdinand	Kinder der Zeit
Frank	Sturm im Wasserglas
Frisch	Nun singen sie wieder

<u>Appendix II cont.</u>	<u>Plays in production</u>
Giraudoux	Amphitryon 38 Die Irre von Chaillot Siegfried Sodom und Gomorrha Der trojanische Krieg wird nicht stattfinden Undine
Goethe	Iphigenie auf Tauris
Goetz	Das Haus in Montevideo Dr. med. Hiob Prätorius Hokuspokus Ingeborg
Gorki	Nachtsyl
Halbe	Der Strom
Hay	Gerichstag
Hellman	Auf der anderen Seite
Hochwälder	Der Flüchtling
v. Horváth	Der jüngste Tag
Kaiser	Adrienne Ambrossat Der Gärtner von Toulouse Das Los des Ossian Balvesen Oktobertag Der Soldat Tanaka
Katajew	Eine Schnur geht durchs Zimmer
Klabund	Der Kreidekreis
Lavery	Die erste Legion Monsignores große Stunde
Lessing	Nathan der Weise
Lorca	Bluthochzeit
Mell	Apostelspiel
Molnár	Liliom Spiel im Schloß
Mostar	Der Zimmerherr
Neumann	Der Patriot

<u>Appendix II cont.</u>	<u>Plays in production</u>
Obey	Vom Jenseits zurück
Odets	Die das leben ehren/ Wach' auf und singe
O'Neill	Trauer muß Elektra tragen O Wildnis!
Osborn	Familienleben Galgenfrist/Der Tod im Apfelbaum
Priestley	Familie Professor Linden Die fremde Stadt Gefährliche Kurven Ein Inspektor kommt
Rattigan	Liebe in Mußiggang/ Olivia und ihre Männer
Raynal	Das Grabmal des unbekannten Soldaten
Rice	Die Rechenmaschine
Rolland	Ein Spiel von Tod und Liebe
Rostand	Der Mann, den sein Gewissen trieb
Saroyan	Mein Herz ist im Hochland
Sartre	Die Fliegen
Schönthan	Der Raub der Sabinerinnen
Scribe	Das Glas Wasser
Simonow	Die russische Frage
Spoerl	Die weiße Weste
Toller	Pastor Hall Die Wandlung
Weisenborn	Babel Die Illegalen
Werfel	Jacobowsky und der Oberst
Wilder	Unsere kleine Stadt Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen
Wolf	Beaumarchais Professor Mamlock
Zuckmayer	Der Hauptmann von Köpenick Katharina Knie Des Teufels General